

CATCHING FLAMES FEVER | ADNAN R. KHAN IN FALLUJA

MACLEAN'S

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE | www.macleans.ca

MAY 17 2004

SEX, SUE & CELEBRITY

How a Canadian granny
became a darling of
Letterman and the
American media

BY SHANDA DEZIEL



\$4.95

20



7 78624 70001 8

FINALLY, A MINIVAN WITH A LIFE
AFTER 9 P.M.



INTRODUCING THE VERY FASHIONABLE ALL-NEW 2004 NISSAN QUEST.

Spontaneous. Reliable. Sensuously cool. Start with fashion-timed styling, including available SkyView™ roof and aerodynamically overhead console. Complement this with groundbreaking Fold-Away™ 2nd and 3rd row seats that both virtually disappear into the floor, and an award-winning™ 240-HP V6 engine. Add thoughtful storage details from sported-in hooks to a built-in cell phone holder. Feel confident with an impressive front and side impact to Silver Safety Rating™. Pouch with a DVD-based Nissan Navigation System™ and an available 10-speaker Bose® Audio System™. After all, you didn't become a defining person when you became a parent. Why drive a car that makes you feel that way? For more info, or to find your closest Dealer for a test-drive, visit us at www.nissan.ca.

★★★★★
IN CANADIAN NEWS



SHIFT.convention



*Mid-October 2003 U.S. national test. **2003's Best Midsize and Minivan Engine and Vehicle Performance Awards. January 2004. ***5.0, Breakthrough of Engineering's National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's (NHTSA) "Highway 100" test. Safety award program. See NHTSA's website for details. ****2003's Best Midsize and Minivan Engine and Vehicle Performance Awards. January 2004. *****2003's Best Midsize and Minivan Engine and Vehicle Performance Awards. January 2004. *****2003's Best Midsize and Minivan Engine and Vehicle Performance Awards. January 2004. *****2003's Best Midsize and Minivan Engine and Vehicle Performance Awards. January 2004.

CONTENTS

MAY 17 2004



30 **COVER**
SEX, SUE & CELEBRITY How a Canadian granny became the darling of the U.S. media

FEATURES

- 16 **Iraq**
AFTER THE SIEGE A report from devastated Falluja. Plus, torture scandals growing fallout.
- 21 **Politics**
THE MEDICARE MONEY TREE Are the Liberals trying to squash healthy debate?
- 24 **Quebec**
THE INDISTINCT SOCIETY The Bloc may be popular, but Quebecers embrace Canada.
- 26 **Sudan**
AFRICA'S ENDLESS WAR Despite new atrocities, Sudan still hopes for peace.
- 40 **Essay**
RED AMERICA, BLUE AMERICA The political punch-up is also a clash of cultures.
- 42 **Q&A**
LESTER BROWN The noted environmentalist on better light bulbs and powerful breezes.
- 44 **War**
NEIGHBOURS IN ARMS At Anzio, Canadian and American troops paved the way to victory.
- 45 **Hockey**
CANADA'S TEAM The underdog Calgary Flames have surpassed all expectations.
- 46 **Music**
FEISTY IN FRANCE The cat's meow in Paris, Canada's Feist is ready to break out at home.
- 51 **Money's Worth**
FAIR TRADE COFFEE A taste test on grounds with a cause.



UP FRONT

- 11 **Olympics** Athens bombing raises fears for games
12 **TV** The long farewell to the venerable *Friends*
13 **Health** Nursing-home patients found doped up
14 **Passages** Don Cherry wants to stay at his Corner



VOICES

- 4 **The Editor's Letter** The West's new political power
- 6 **Letters** Know-it-all Canadians and offended fans
- 12 **Mambridge on the Record** Campaign spin cycle
- 15 **Japan on the Issues** On-line tools for the poor
- 29 **Gonard Cox** What if China's economy collapses?
- 50 **Over to You** The joy of ignoring best-laid plans
- 56 **Raul Wills** The Back Page Fake talk on health



CLOSING NOTES

- 53 Music: Montreal's Unicorns are on the rise
54 Internet: Wordspy.com—not the average dictionary
54 Q&A: Paul Giamatti on his upcoming political thriller
55 Finish the sentences: Gary Busby
56 Best-sellers list

[illegible]

10,000 bonus points
upon enrolment. Apply today.
Offer ends May 31st, 2004.

The RBC Royal Bank Visa® Platinum AAdvantage®. Now have the freedom to redeem your points to fly on any airline, wherever you want. No blackout periods, no seating restrictions – you've got the points, you've got the seat. You need just 25,000 points to start flying. Earn one point for every dollar you spend, plus redeem points through RBC Rewards® for holiday packages, car rentals and more. It's just another way RBC puts you first. To find out more, call 1-877-870YUL or visit www.thecanadiancreditcard.com/aadvantage

FIRST > FOR YOU





HOW THE WEST CAN WIN

In previous elections, the Liberals were able to ignore half the country. Not now.

FROM THE WINDOW of my Regina hotel last week, one sight seemed familiar, yet out of place: a billboard featuring a photograph of Ralph Goodale, the federal finance minister who is Saskatchewan's most important politician. We're all accustomed to seeing pictures of politicians in the midst of an election campaign—but that wasn't the case here. Still, given that ad, and all the relaxed talk in Ottawa, it wasn't a surprise when a similar

Liberals organizer I bumped into last week that day said they've been told to be ready for an election announcement any day now.

That remark came with at least the appearance of a contented smile—which could seem surprising, since most polls show the Liberals are poised, in the event of an election, to take their majority government into a minority, or worse. And that's precisely why people in the West—especially Saskatchewan and Manitoba—should be cheerful. For the first time in more than a decade, we face an election in which the Liberals will be obliged to pay real attention to a part of the country they have often ignored.

The change in attitude is about to happen not just because Paul Martin says he cares about the West—he does occasionally—but also because he has to. Consider the math in the last election, which roughly mirrors the pattern of the Liberals' two previous majority victories, they won only 24 of 85 seats from Manitoba to British Columbia. But this didn't matter much to them, because they already had enough seats in a comfortable majority in the House of Commons by the time returns came in from the Atlantic provinces, Quebec and Ontario. As a result, both before and after the election, they paid the West the kind of cursory democratic attention you generally accord to people who are either obstacles or simply irrelevant to your life's ambitions.

This time, the Liberals can't do that. In Quebec, they could win as few as 12 to 15 of 75 seats. In Ontario, they could lose between 25 and 30 seats of the province's 116 seats—only most of those going to the Conservatives, some to the NDP. Even if the Liberals hold the same seat as an or improve slightly in the Atlantic provinces, that

“
The spotlight
will be on
Manitoba and
Saskatchewan
—where
three parties
all have
real reason
for hope

lowers their viability of the 155 seats needed for a majority in the expanded, 308-seat Commons.

So where to find additional support? Not in Alberta, where they'll be lucky to match the two seats they won last time out. Still, they can't be seen as ignoring it, given that Alberta is one of the country's richest provinces. British Columbia, with its moderate oil and gas wealth, sits on some regions, often some hope for the Liberals to win, say, a half dozen seats.

But the real spotlight is likely to be in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where the Liberals, NDP and Conservatives all have realistic reason for hope. Both provinces have NDP governments at present, but have elected Liberals and Conservatives in the past. Lacking the money and vote of Alberta and B.C., the two provinces have been easy to dismiss—but now may jointly determine the shape, focus and identity of the next federal government. What a concept to contemplate: a genuinely national election campaign in which other parties have a good chance of improving their lot. Thank the Liberals for that—even though that's not exactly not their intention.

Anthony Wilson-Smith

Copyright © 2004 Maclean's Inc. All rights reserved. The Editor's Letter

MACLEAN'S

Editor: Anthony Wilson-Smith

Managing Editor: Michael B. Smith

Deputy Editor: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

Editorial Director: Peter G. K. Smith

www.spain.info

SPAIN MARKS

Who ever said that 54 isn't green?
With 241 top-class golf courses, the
most experienced instructors and
300 days of sun-a-year it's the
best place to indulge your passion
for golf. And you'll undoubtedly
discover other passions as well:
history, art, gastronomy...

Be marked by www.spain.info

OFICINA ESPAÑOLA DE TURISMO EN TORONTO TOURIST OFFICE OF SPAIN OFFICE DU TOURISME D'ESPAGNE
2 Bloor Street West, Suite 3402, Toronto, Ontario M4W 3G2
Tel.: 1-416-961-3131 Fax.: 1-416-591-1052 e-mail: toronto@tourspain.es www.tourspain.toronto.on.ca

6 MACLEAN'S | MAY 17, 2004

'America's major fault is believing in its own myths, in its John Waynes and Hollywood happy endings. This is why Bush is in such a mess in Iraq.' —*Shirley Pawley, Waterloo, Ont.*

Canadian imperialist

As a Canadian who has lived, worked and travelled around the world for most of my adult life, I was very pleased to see Jonathan Gauthier acknowledge the negative aspect of Canadian patriotism that I loathe every time I come into contact with Canadian intention showing our superiority over Americans ("The know-it-all neighbour," *Concert*, May 3). Whether it is maintaining the myth that Canadian beer is stronger than its American counterpart, the idea that wearing a Canadian flag on your backpack makes the world your friend, or the stories, which are more likely Canadian urban legends, of the ignorance. Anonymous, Canadians have become a cliché.

Robert Vanderkoy, Mississauga, Ontario

It's with you, Canadians have been indulging in self-importance and free riding—and getting away with it—for too long. Like the dinner companion who disappears in the washroom when the cheque arrives, we are getting what we deserve, to be ridiculed.

Mark DeSilva, Toronto

Fourteen years ago, I moved from the San Francisco Bay area to Surrey, B.C., with my new Canadian husband. It couldn't wait to live here. Soon, however, I began to think we became persons. I frequently sensed a surprising undercurrent of anti-American sentiment from friends, neighbours, media and even my well-educated colleagues. Americans seemed to be far gone for cruel pranks and accusations that, directed against any other nationality, would be labelled racist and contrary to the multicultural acceptance. Canadians are so good!

Colleen McDuff Davis, Surrey, B.C.

If we want to continue reaping the benefits of having American neighbours, we need to start putting something into the relationship. I don't support the Americans going to war in Iraq, however, I also don't support Canada not standing by the neighbours we rely so heavily on.

Eryn Nelson, Calgary

ADAM LEE, TORONTO TIMES (LEFT); ANDREW LEE, TORONTO TIMES (RIGHT)

MACLEAN'S

THE KNOW-IT-ALL NEIGHBOUR

EXCLUSIVE CANADIAN POLL: When it comes to Canadians, Americans have all the answers. BY JONATHAN GAUTHIER



Hasn't off to the greatest cover you have published yet, and I would love to know more about the artist.

Edward Clement, Burlington, Ont.

American Fred Edwards's analogy of Canada's lack of support for the Iraq war as a friend who failed "to back you up" in a bar fight is most fitting. A good friend is there to talk sense into you when your judgment is impaired, when you shoot off at the mouth, or get violent and out of control. Friends try to prevent you from doing something irresponsible and regrettable; they don't join in the fray just for the hell of it, weakening your actions when it's obvious

you're out of line and out for your own personal gain. When it comes to the war in Iraq, Canadians need a supportive friend. Our fight is not whose we want to be.

Amy McWhorter, Peoria, Ill.

Boo Leafs

Along with a growing number of Canadians, I am getting thoroughly sick and tired of this. "If it's from Toronto, it must be the best" BS that regularly permeates your magazine. Your "Loch n'ration" piece ("The blue heart of Leafs nation," *Hockey*, May 3) is just another example of this drivel. In that same issue, Peter Mansbridge droned on about his beloved Leafs ("The joys of puck fever," *Mansbridge on the Record*). Outside of Toronto and Ottawa, they are more often the "Ice-based Leafs." Montreal and Calgary have had sterling fan-round victories; their celebrations were every bit as spontaneous and raucous. Where was the equivalent coverage, oh *National Magazine of Canada*? My money's on the Flames to carry the torch for Canadian hockey fans everywhere.

Kan Whitehead, Courtenay, B.C.

Peter Mansbridge is right. Americans, although I am now among them, don't get it. Canada is hockey country and every town is hockey town. You would think that I would break the cycle of Leaf dependence myself. No way. Although born and bred in the States, they bleed Leaf blue. Mats stare at them from posters on their walls. Little glassie charms from behind his neck. I sense the score of the last game on a piece of paper and tape it to their doors—like my parents did—when they have to go to bed before the game is over. They get it.

W. G. McComber, Windsor, Ont.

Manning's view

An opinion piece by Paul Wells in your April 26 edition, "In the break and back," (*The Back Page*) quoting Quebec's former Premier Duchesne, contained several errors which I would like to set straight: (1) No negotiations ever took place between myself and the Reform Party and the PQ government of Quebec or its predecessors prior to the 1995 Quebec referendum. (2) Reform's position that secession should not occupy the position of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, and that Jean Chrétien should have resigned after bungling the federalism campaign in 1995, were our own positions, shared by

Maybe it's time to experience

reality,
without the
TV.

The conversation is waiting. Go there.



WE KNOW SHE'S YOUR PRINCESS.
BUT EVEN A PRINCESS NEEDS AN EDUCATION PLAN.
WE LIVE WHERE YOU LIVE.™



Who knows how you'll handle seeing her in a cap and gown. But at least you can be financially ready for it. With choices like RESPs and life insurance for education planning and RRSPs for retirement planning. See your State Farm agent or visit statefarm.ca

LIKE A GOOD NEIGHBOUR



STATE FARM IS THERE.™

Providing Insurance and Financial Services

Mutual Funds are not insurance products and are distributed through representatives of State Farm Insurance Services (Canada) Co. State Farm Insurance Services (Canada) Co. is a separate legal entity from State Farm Mutual Insurance Company, a subsidiary of State Farm Insurance Services (Canada) Co. State Farm Insurance Services (Canada) Co. is a separate legal entity from State Farm Mutual Insurance Company, a subsidiary of State Farm Insurance Services (Canada) Co. State Farm Insurance Services (Canada) Co. is a separate legal entity from State Farm Mutual Insurance Company, a subsidiary of State Farm Insurance Services (Canada) Co.

Let Mail



Many outraged readers felt the seal's pain, one thought the article was unfair to the hunters

hundreds of thousands of other Canadians. They were in no way "shape or form" the result of some imaginary negotiation with the PQ. (3) Reform's position that a simple majority should decide the Quebec secession referendum was in fact the position of the Trudeau government in the 1980 referendum. What Reform added was that trying to change the rules just before the 1995 referendum weakened the federalist position, and that "50 per cent plus one" could not be used to divide Canada, then a 50-per-cent-plus-one vote in a secession referendum could divide Canada, then a 50-per-cent-plus-one vote in any particular referendum following secession could divide Quebec. I agree with Wells that there is a tendency today to reduce the discussion of history to its most trivial expressions. A good start towards reversing this trend would be to get the facts straight at the outset of the discussion by going to the source.

David Hugh R.L. MacDonald, Thunder Bay, Ont.

come from this barbarity, and these are highly defensible. Newfoundland each year is losing far more in good will. This miss-algorithm of helpless animals is a disgrace to that province and equally a shame to all Canada.

David Hugh R.L. MacDonald, Thunder Bay, Ont.

I am appalled and disappointed at the article depicting the seal hunt in Newfoundland. The one-sided tone of the article attacks of extremist with hunting sentiment. If you want to write about the plight of animals, perhaps you should focus on pollution and habitat loss, the real threats to wildlife.

Philip O'Neil, St. John's, Nfld.

The look on the face of that defenceless little seal, about to be bludgeoned to death, brought tears to my eyes and was so short-lived I threw out the whole magazine in disgust. Why do you have to picture such violence? Is there not enough animal with all the terror?

Ashley McKay, Hamilton

Seal hunt outrage

Thank you for the obscene photo of a brutal man raising his bloodied cudgel to batter to death a very small and terrified animal (April 26, April 26). As English writer Dean Inge once said, "If animals had a theology, human beings would be the devil." The picture is another vivid reminder to humane individuals as to why I shall never visit Newfoundland nor ever knowingly purchase Newfoundland products while the seal hunt continues. Whatever economic benefits

has taken concrete surgery over the edge. What ever happened to accepting a person for who they are on the inside, not for what they look like? Changing your appearance is changing who you are. If people cannot accept you for the real you, they don't deserve to be your friend.

Erica McLaughlin, Spring, Minn.

Wage war

Thank you for your article on Air Canada's current situation and future outlook ("The death watch," Business, April 26). I have worked as a pilot at Air Canada for 16 years and, prior to that, for seven years for other smaller airlines. I'd like to see Maclean's do some research on our competition. There are these viable long-hauling alternatives: Jetco pays its starting flight attendants \$30,500 a year, clerical staff are similarly paid and training pilots are paid roughly between \$45,000 and \$65,000 a year. Wage offers to employees are at any time wages and no pension benefits. My point is this: Will 10- to 15-year-old employees continue to work at sub-standard wages indefinitely? Will this keep good employees as they grow older? Obviously, Air Canada's unions must make bigger cuts and even bigger wage concessions, but to \$10,500 a year? Is the low-cost model sustainable?

Patrick Vaughan, Montreal

Boomer backlash

According to Chris Kerevela of Calgary and Sherrie Fisher of Sherwood Park, Alberta, baby boomers are rude, egotistical, planet destroyers who have given up their idyllic dress from the '60s ("Rude legacy," Letters, May 3). I was astonished at the anger and the absolute certainty that, while this past generation may have slogged as an unwar and enhanced racial and gender relations, they have all sold out in the chase for the almighty dollar. I belong to the baby boomer generation, the one that rejected the Vietnam War, and the Iraq war far that matter. I am polite to people of all ages, races and genders because I still believe that all people have the right to expect courtesy from each other. Both of these letters were written in a rude, condescending tone, with no thought to the possibility that the people of whom they complain do not represent an entire generation. Now, where have I heard this before?

Dirk Hill, Mississauga, Ont.

“What ever happened to accepting a person for who they are on the inside, not for what they look like?”

Shiny, plastic people

Cosmetic surgery has gone way too far ("Presso changes," Essay, April 26). In certain cases, I can understand why people undergo cosmetic surgery (brows, nose, etc.) however, the media

CANON



GRADUATION DAY IS
simply amazing

WITH CANON DIRECT
PRINT TECHNOLOGY



SHOOT
+
CONNECT
+
PRINT
DIRECT



turn your
imagination

Capture that special day and print it
right there on the spot with
Canon Direct Print Technology

Share those moments that only come once
in a lifetime. Canon Direct Print Technology
PowerShot Pro7000 allows you to easily
share those moments and print without a computer.
And even though Canon's most devices aren't
built with Canon's unique device, images can
be printed directly from any Pro7000 compatible
digital camera to any Pro7000 compatible
printer — regardless of the manufacturer.
Whether you use Canon Direct Print
Technology is simply amazing!



Visit the Canon Digital Photography Centre
www.canon.ca/can/digitalphotography

Canon
SHOW HOW

MACLEAN'S BEHIND THE SCENES



LOVE OF LEARNING REAPS REWARD

"I spend my days learning. What could be better than that?" asks Maclean's Editor at Large Ann Dowsett Johnston, who oversees all elements of post-secondary coverage in Maclean's. "As both a mother and a journalist, I have a passionate interest in knowing whether this generation of students is being offered what they deserve."

On April 30, Dowsett Johnston accepted the Award for Excellence in Post-secondary Education Journalism for her Nov. 17, 2003, feature article "Measuring Excellence," the cover story for last year's annual university rankings issue.

The award is given by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), an Ottawa-based organization that defends academic freedom and works to improve the quality and accessibility of post-secondary education in Canada. Dowsett Johnston is shown, above right, with CAUT President Victor Côté.

"Ann won because of the depth of coverage of the article she presented as well as for its research and the degree to which she understood the challenges that are faced by the post-secondary community," says CAUT Associate Executive Director David Robinson.

"This is a wonderful honour for Ann," says Maclean's Publisher Paul Jones. "While she writes for students and parents, it's gratifying to see academics also recognize her work."

Dowsett Johnston, who has overseen the Maclean's university rankings since 1992, is donating her award money to a bursary fund that once helped her as a university student.

Help shape what's inside Maclean's by visiting
www.macleans.ca/webpoll/ For further information
about this article, contact behindthescenes@cmacked.ca.



How are you



going to top off



your weekend?



RealTime™ 4-wheel drive. All the versatility you need. And enough fun to fill a weekend. The 2004 CR-V.



HONDA
www.honda.ca

INTRODUCING THE NEW CIBC AVENTURA GOLD VISA CARD.

Dive in a tub
to the Titanic.

Helicopter into the
Grand Canyon.

Hunt, cuisine
at home.

Shark diving.

Play the top 10
golf courses.

Your own personal
interior designer.

It goes
where no card
has gone before.



Unforgettable experiences,
exclusive rewards and
exceptional service.

Aventura Points can be easily redeemed for unforgettable experiences and elite travel on more than 100 airlines with no blackout periods or booking fees.

Redeem for flexible travel rewards from thousands of hotels, car rental agencies, tour packages and more. You can also convert your Aventura Points to Aeroplan® miles.

And, earn 1,000 Bonus Aventura Points the first time you use your CIBC Aventura Gold Visa card. With rewarding experiences starting at just 10,000 Aventura Points, redeeming for a reward is easier than you think.

To apply for the CIBC Aventura Gold Visa card, or to find out more about the full line-up of Aventura Rewards, call 1-800-627-8512 or visit CIBCAdventure.com

Journey beyond the familiar.

Run with the bulls.

Come face-to-face
with a volcano.

Discover ancient
civilizations.

Discover
contingent rental.

Mediterranean
cuisine today.

Big Apple
luxury weekend.

UPFRONT



Olympics | How safe will the Athens Summer Games be?

Even before the bombings in Athens last week, Olympic organizers in Greece had encountered a road snarl—an estimated \$1.6 billion, or four times what was spent on Sydney in 2000—to secure this August's Summer Games. They have assembled a force of more than 50,000 police and soldiers, aided by intelligence and police services from around the world. NATO is supplying an AWACS radar aircraft to watch the skies and ships to patrol the coastlines. Olympic installations will be monitored by 1,400 security cameras and a fleet of helicopters.

But still, the fear of terrorism sticks to the Games has intensified, even more so since four suicide bombings in nearby Turkey last fall and the March 11 bombings in Madrid. The International Olympic Committee was so far as to organize a US\$170-million insurance policy to defray costs if the Games have to be cancelled for any reason. So last week, when three bombs exploded outside an Athens police station, it jangled nerves

After the bombings Rogge (below) had to say, "No one can guarantee zero risk."

worldwide. Police blamed the attack on domestic extremists, ruling out an al-Qaeda connection. But IOC president Jacques Rogge had to estimate that, while organizers will do everything possible, "no one can guarantee zero risk." And the Canadian Olympic Committee has been trying the same to its team. "The message," says Dave Bedford, the chief of mission for Athens, "is that they can't protect us from every overcast."

Canada has plans to further shield team members in Greece, developed with the help of the RCMP. But while athletes are concerned about safety, they have more often expressed worries about performing



in the heat and pollution, and about the general disorganization of the Athens site. For competitors who might only get one shot at Olympic glory, here's the most mundane fear: missing their event because their bus got stuck in traffic.

Quote of the week | "I notice guys don't want to shake his hands now. Everybody just gives him the fist." Chicago Cubs manager Dusty Baker, commenting after outfielder Moisés Alou was caught up saying he hardened his hands by smacking on them.

ScoreCard



CALIGARY FLAMES
Loudspeakers and the only Canadian to win left chasing Stanley Cup. Captain Jarome Iginla heads up his heated status as the star, but Edmonton's 18-months face oval low bidder pill, climb on national broadcaster—and credible sources that at least they're not cheering for the Leafs.



STEWART KILGOTT
Inspiring Seabiscuit against odds. Kentucky barn jockey hit bag here—out 20—riding country colt Smartly again to Kentucky Derby win. Saving railroads were sure the little horse from nowhere and first-time Derby ride lacking pedigree to go all the way. Wrong! Calgary Flames take note.



KREPPY KREME
Shakes up the doughnut industry. Tumble as low-carb diets draw into company profits. Watch for Canada's new high-protein product, chicken cutlets.



WINNEY SPEARS
Dress, find it again. Her new tattoo, an HIV-free, was supposed to mean "new era," but instead it gibberish Japanese symbol reflected her hip was to say "mysterious" if reads "damage." Got words on video, and music critics all really hint enough ammunition.



For what matters.

Mansbridge on the Record



ESCAPING THE SPIN CYCLE

Campaign tours are about as far removed from reality as you can get

THERE WAS A TIME when there was so few TV repurposes on Parliament Hill that they were all household names—Mormon Dabne, John Dershowitz, Tim Kaine and Ron Mason. They lived on in anecdotes, and there was one about Mason that I remembered the other day. Covering the 1968 campaign, he found himself on a Conservative bus tour. He found himself in a grueling schedule of days and long nights. One evening, to the legend goes, Mason fell asleep in the back of the bus. When he awoke in the middle of the night he was alone—all the other buses had been dropped off at their hotels and the driver was long gone. Mason apparently called his desk from a pay phone, and when asked to explain where he was, offered this: “I’m where the buses sleep in Montreal.”

Buses have played a key part in campaigns for decades, taking candidates and their campaign workers from place to place. But this year, there’ll be a different kind of campaign bus out there. All of the networks are planning to have their own vehicles on the road—and following the candidate. The idea is to break away from the spin generated by the political parties and get us out to listen to Canadians. The concept isn’t entirely new—we’ve seen versions as presidential elections over the past few years, and in the U.S. presidential race, it’s a bit of a tradition. But in this election, it’s a bit of a tradition.

“The media has to break away from the buzz generated by the parties and talk to Canadians about what’s on their minds.”

Those are about as far removed from reality as you can get. Reporters spend most of their time in an air-conditioned tube, riding back and forth across the country. When they do stop, it’s either to watch the

leader perform in front of a partisan crowd, giving the same speech just heard 1,300 miles away, or to observe a staged event in a factory where the owner looks a little shocked as all the media types shouting questions about things that have nothing to do with the plant.

Little is served by these carefully orchestrated tours, a throwback to the whistle-stop campaign of Macdonald and Laurier, but until the media stops following, the politician will keep going. So much of any campaign, though, is about what’s taking place at the riding level, the black-by-black, door-by-door battle to win support. And it’s what those local candidates are hearing that’s really a pretty accurate barometer of what’s on voters’ minds. The media bus data is just a start, and a small one at that, as trying to get at what’s really happening is one of the first jobs to do “on the road.”

The late Charles Kuralt of CBS was one of the first to do “on the road” campaign. He told lots of interesting stories, some go local, but most just fall in line. I remember meeting him in the CBS cafeteria in New York years ago and listening to one of his favourite anecdotes. Over the years he’d been collecting place names that had been spelling out words when pronounced differently—such as Albany, N.Y., and Albany, Ga. (Al-bi-bi-ni-ny, Al-bi-bi-ny). One day, in a small town spelled “M-e-e-o-o,” he went to a restaurant to check out the personification. He asked the waitress to say, carefully and slowly, the name of the place they were in. “M-e-e-o-o-oo,” came the reply.

Kuralt walked the highway, the road, telling remarkable stories. After he died a few years ago, something else became clear about what he’d been doing on the road all those years—he had started a second life. Good thing campaign here only has five weeks.

PHOTO: MANSBRIDGE IS CHIEF CONSULTANT OF CBC TELEVISION NEWS AND ANCHOR OF THE NATIONAL. TO COMMENT: letters@canada.ca

FaceTime



Judge's Justice
David Rosen, 44, a retired B.C. provincial court judge, got pulled to five charges in 2003 for having sex with girls in Prince George, while he was a judge. All five victims are Aboriginal. One, who was 12 when Rosen was a judge, said he later advised her child-welfare case. “That judge is one of my heroes,” she said to her mother.



The Heart's on
The Heart's on, a 24-hour news channel, is set to launch in 2004.



Foral Ball
The most popular claim he didn't lose the 2000 provincial election for Al Gore was in about 1994. He was a judge in the court of appeals in British Columbia. He was a judge in the court of appeals in British Columbia. He was a judge in the court of appeals in British Columbia.



Strike Lotron, a 24-hour news channel, is set to launch in 2004.

WORLD

ISRAEL After his failed party voted against him, a proposal for an Israeli pullout from Gaza, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon promised to amend the plan—but not abandon it. An Israeli court indicted a 15-year-old Palestinian boy for allegedly recruiting teenage suicide bombers. It's the first time such a charge has been brought.

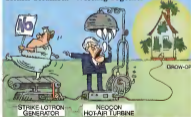
DEMOCRATS Senator John Kerry's life will be unveiled in a series of Democratic party ads designed as the single largest purchase of commercial time in a presidential race. As a cost of US\$525 million, the ads will run in 19 mostly swing states through the end of the month.

At G-8 and a group of westerners brought Newsweek International, a 24-hour news channel formerly owned by the CBC. Amid speculation that he would try to turn it into a liberal counterweight to the conservative Fox News Channel, the former vice president and he wanted it to be “an independent voice” for younger people, but not a liberal network.

GEORGIA John Makhuchidze, a Georgian warlord in the Abkhaz region who had brought Georgia to the brink of civil war, allegedly fled the country to Moscow. Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili declared victory and was greeted by cheering crowds when he visited the area.

BY DAN MURPHY

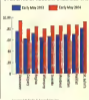
British Columbia—Working Together



PAYING HIGH-OCTANE PRICES AT THE PUMP

With national gas prices climbing four cents a litre last week and up 26 per cent from 2003, drivers for an expensive summer driving season. Analysts believe that expects gas prices to rise as much as a dollar five cents a litre before hitting this summer's peak. Two main factors are the rising cost of oil and increased seasonal demand. Gas prices aren't expected to fall until the autumn, but there reports some relief for drivers. These competition among retailers has resulted in cities such as Winnipeg and Calgary experiencing price swings and lower prices than the national average of 85.5 cents.

C PER LITRE OF REGULAR UNLEADED GAS



Source: MB Energy & Economics Inc.

MASSACHUSETTS Residents in the Nigerian town of New Britain to bury their dead after an attack on May 2 by Christian militia. One leader in the Muslim community said the toll could be as high as 1,000. Christians and Muslims have been fighting in the area for three months, over ownership of fertile farmland.

FINLAND Ulysses condemned five Bulgarian marines and a Palestinian doctor to death by firing squad for inflicting more than 400 children with HIV through contaminated blood. European governments criticised the ruling, saying experts have said

the outbreak had probably been the result of unsanitary hospital practices before the aid had even arrived in Libya. There will be an appeal.

ART Gargan a la pipe, a painting done in 1905 by Pablo Picasso, was set to set a new record for an art sale by fetching more than US\$104 million at Sotheby's New York.

HONG KONG Eight Chinese warships sailed down Victoria harbour in a show of force. The move by Beijing came as democracy activists in the formerly British-held territory, which was transferred to China in 1997, say they are coming and are increasing pressure.

HEALTH CARE France issued a new plan to deal with health issues. Among the measures was \$33 million to be used for the elderly, to allow them to set up at least one air-conditioned room for emergencies. Some 13,000 people died in last year's heatwave, more than in any other year.

HEALTH

DRUGS A new study raised concerns that residents of nursing homes are being over-medicated with anti-psychotic drugs. The researchers found that fully a quarter of older adults admitted to nursing homes in Ontario between 1996 and 2000, who had not previously been administered such drugs and who had no history of major psychosis,

begin measuring such medication when a year of being admitted.

ASTHMA Canada has one of the world's highest asthma rates, according to a report by the Global Initiative for Asthma. More than 14 per cent of Canadians have been diagnosed with the chronic lung disease.

SURVIVING According to a study looking at various medical indices in Canada, the U.S., Britain, Australia and New Zealand, Canada had the worst survival rate for serious heart attacks. But the report also said we have the highest survival rates for childhood leukemia and liver and kidney transplants.

SARS China confirmed three more cases of the potentially deadly B0-like virus. That brings to nine the number of victims in its latest outbreak. So far, only one of the patients has died.

CANADA

FISHERY Canadian authorities boarded five foreign fishing vessels just outside the country's 200-mile international limit and issued two citations to one Portuguese ship. The federal government said it was part of an initiative to crack down on illegal fishing.

of overfished species. Critics accused the government of electioneering.

D-IMP There was grumbling among some D-Day veterans about plans to mark the 60th anniversary of the Allied landing in Normandy. The government was only paying for 60 veterans to participate in the official trip over seas, but there are about 2,000 surviving Canadian veterans. Ottawa said it would look at ways to help more who wanted to go.

SECURITY It was a case of he said, she said after Ward Enoch, head of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, warned that Canada should expect a terrorist attack. Not so, responded Deputy Prime Minister Anne McLellan, who said there is no known specific threat to Canada.



QUEBEC Comic Yves Deschamps, once one of Quebec's more prominent agitators, said the concept of sovereignty has become outdated. He also suggested the separatist movement is "like a dying person before there is a lot of normal life before death."

Former Jean Charest's Liberal announced

they were sheding a controversial privatization plan for some public services. The Liberals' fortunes have plummeted since they assumed office in April 2003.

KANSASITARI Tensions ran after noon-Native police were called in to patrol the tiny Mohawk territory just west of Montreal. It's been the scene of a bitter dispute surrounding Grand Chief James Gabeau, whose house was torched and who was forced to leave after homecoming a campaign to clean up crime.

CCPS Four of Toronto's finest were charged with 36 offenses after an intensive investigation into organized crime and gambling. Among them were Rick McInnes, who temporarily stepped aside as president of the city's police union last month, and Bill McGarrick Jr., the son of a former police chief.

LABOUR British Columbia averted a general strike with a last minute deal between the government and striking hospital employees. But angry union members claimed that leadership had sold them out, while other critics linked out to the Liberal government over its opposing position that had led to the crisis.



OPPOSED

swelling cold hit winds, millions, many in shivering coats, marched through the New Zealand capital of Wellington. They were protesting the government's plan to phase much of the country's nuclear power out of the country and control, saying the move would compromise on climate treaty. The next day, parliament voted to stay in favor of the proposal.

Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



'NERD CITY' SOLUTION

A new, made-in-Canada idea could provide free, computerized training for poor people

ONLY THE LUCKY few have at least one waiving line at St. John Bullock's court. And among the blessed is he himself, armed with his laptop computer and ink-leaked plans of his building. Meanwhile, other, business At 70, he has the same charm, optimistic flow that he developed to rally small-time new against a daunting foe he had more than 20 years ago. That successful campaign led to the creation of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business where, among others, when 1996, the group Bullock often preached against government fully as a lobbyist for small business. His refusal to turn political disagreements into personal attacks was the respect of his frequent critics, including Peter Trudeau. The former PM, who loathed the very notion of topology, actually learned when Bullock expounded on his members' words "I liked him," Bullock says simply.

Now Bullock is CEO of a small business with allegations that the federal's small business and sufficient space to allow conversion into what he calls "Canada Learning Centres." Ottawa could just pay for the program. The president could just as partners. Private firms such as Value could compete to offer courses—and take profits from the paid-for courses (Bullock figures the centers would need to run about 20 private firms for content, including region-specific material). Community colleges could oversee the work.

“We have to bring learning to the community level,” he says. “It is an efficient, economic way to make people’s lives worthwhile.” It is also politically viable. After all, every middle-class person can afford a CAP rate, often in libraries, so each MP could cut a ribbon. The nation is parading through the Prime Minister’s Office. After career as an expert, college professor and CEO, Bullock says he just wants to do good. He guesses at his offer: “I like the challenge. This is a hard job.” In other words, he has a new life is a joy.

no countries like India,” says Bullock.

His idea has already moved free instruction in such public transit areas as computer usage with other courses costing up to \$100. But it was only last year that he told “Hillier.” Ottawa means to run 6,800 Community Access Program sites across Canada that allow low-income people to use computers. Although Ottawa is winding down to support CAP, the last budget set aside \$50 million over the next two years.

So why not find a way to ensure the centers are self-supporting, but also provide free instruction to the disadvantaged? As Bullock explains it, each center could charge for courses in such fields as small business management and retain half of the proceeds for staff. It could also offer free training to the unemployed, seniors or low-income workers upgrading their skills.

Bullock figures more than 1,000 of the existing CAP sites have enough computers and sufficient space to allow conversion into what he calls “Canada Learning Centres.” Ottawa could just pay for the program. The president could just as partners. Private firms such as Value could compete to offer courses—and take profits from the paid-for courses (Bullock figures the centers would need to run about 20 private firms for content, including region-specific material).

Community colleges could oversee the work. “We have to bring learning to the community level,” he says. “It is an efficient, economic way to make people’s lives worthwhile.”

It is also politically viable. After all, every middle-class person can afford a CAP rate, often in libraries, so each MP could cut a ribbon. The nation is parading through the Prime Minister’s Office. After career as an expert, college professor and CEO, Bullock says he just wants to do good. He guesses at his offer: “I like the challenge. This is a hard job.” In other words, he has a new life is a joy.

Mary Janigan is a political and policy writer. Her e-mail address is maryjanigan@shaw.ca.

Passages

DECLINED I don't plan to do the CBC and Don Cherry, the host of *Couch's* Corner, would soon part ways. Conservative deputy leader Peter Mackay tried to force the hyperbolic hockey commentator to run for the party in the upcoming election. Cherry, 70, declined, saying he hopes to be back on *Hockey Night* in Canada.



ANNOUNCED With a federal election call pending, some well-known names tossed their hats into the ring. Olivia Chow, 47, wife of NDP Leader Jack Layton and a Toronto politician, and the wife took the federal party's nomination in a downtown riding. And Winnipeg Mayor Garry Murray, 46, revealed his intention to run for the Liberals. At the provincial level, Toronto municipal councillor John Tary, 40, announced the Ontario Conservative party leadership race.

AWARDED Former UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 85, was named an honorary companion of the Order of Canada. Critics argued he is unworthy, considering his leadership during the 1994 Rwanda genocide, when he was slow to take emergency action to stop the violence. Some 500,000 people ended up dying.



FREED Toronto business mogul Ali Al-Kuwari was released after being held by Iraq al-Qaida for a week. His family reported he paid US\$100,000 to be freed from al-Kuwari, who had been working as an importer/exporter. He was the third Canadian taken hostage in Iraq.

HURED David Nolin, 35, was named general manager of the Vancouver Canucks, replacing his mentor, Brian Burke, 58. Burke helped the once wall-to-wall Canada become a commanding and profitable team. His boss, Stan McCauley, did not renew Burke's contract but declined to explain why.

PHOTO FINISH?

The torture scandal prompts calls for an end to the reign of Rumsfeld

IT'S THE KING of euphony that George W. Bush could have done without. For over a year now, his administration has worked diligently—some would say obsessively—to keep photos of the Iraq draped coffins of dead soldiers out of the morning newspapers, and the consequences of American violence. Now it turns out that it was the images of lying, breathing, smiling servicemen and women that they should have been worrying about.

The scandal over the U.S.-led coalition's treatment of its Iraqi prisoners is deepening by the day and is already threatening the President's inner circle. After actively trying to downplay the significance of a series of shocking images of naked captives being humiliated and abused by their military police, the White House abruptly changed tack last week, vowing to face-plant politicians and launching a media blitz of contrition. President senior administration officials did the utmost of warning interview shows, while the President made two appearances on Arabic-language news channels. "There will be investigations. People will be brought to justice," Bush told a U.S. funded satellite broadcaster. "The actions of these few people do not reflect the hearts of the American people."

But it may not be enough to quieten Bush's sprawling re-election campaign from the political fallout, or save the jobs of some of the key aides out of his war on terror. The President, who says he first learned of the torture scandal through TV reports, called Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld to the capitol last week for failing to inform him about investigations that had been going on since at least last fall. Although he later informed him support for the war. Bush's reaction was: "It's a tragedy to any citizen," the President said afterwards—there are growing calls for "Rumsfeld" to make the ultimate political sacrifice and resign.

Peter Feaver, a political scientist at Yale

University and a former member of the National Security Council, says Rumsfeld could well weather the storm, but that other high-ranking officials at the Pentagon should be holding their resumes. "I think the Bush administration is at a point where they need accountability," says Feaver. "There will be military officers who are held responsible, and I would not be surprised to see senior civilian resign as well."

The scandal adds another layer of complication to Bush's already fragile Iraq inquiry. With fewer than 50 days remaining until the deadline to hand over power to the provisional government, and coming off the worst month for American casualties since the invasion, he must now fearfully try to repair bridges to the Arab world and shore up support at home. His scale of liberation and freedom from tyranny is in danger of becoming as derided as the burn for weapons of mass destruction. As the same time, the necessity cost of the war and reconstruction efforts is soaring. Last week, administration officials quietly asked Congress for another \$25 billion for the fiscal year beginning in October, only a portion of what they privately concede they will need.

"THEY'RE saying it was a few bad apples, but that doesn't happen in a vacuum. The military society accommodates it."

The latest opinion polls reflect Rumsfeld's loss as some support—the President and Sen. John Kerry, his Democratic challenger, are still running neck-and-neck, each with 47 per cent of registered voters. But it may be a short-lived brush. Bush's approval ratings continue to slide, and it's Ralph Nader's days per cent support, as the Democrats struggle to fine-tune their theme for the

November elections, that is keeping Kerry out of the lead. "Iraq is turning into a fatal issue for both Bush and Kerry," says Feaver, noting the gap between what Democrats want—a pull-out—and what their candidate is currently promising: additional troops.

Things are likely to get worse before they get better. The photos of naked prisoners on ladders, or piled in pyramids, are disturbing, but they pale in comparison to some of the other allegations being made about the conduct of coalition forces. The official U.S. military investigation into conditions at Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison (where the trophy pictures were taken) points to similar incidents at several coalition-run facilities. It also details allegations of beatings, sexual assaults, and drugs being an inmate. The 53-page report—marked "Secret/No Foreign Dissemination"—states that dozens of Iraqi detainees have been killed during riots and escape attempts. The U.S. Justice Department is already probing the involvement of CIA officers and contractors employed in those facilities. Prisoner deaths during interrogations, while the U.S. military is looking at 25 killings and assaults involving its forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. Parallel investigations are underway in the U.K. following the publication of photos allegedly showing British troops kicking and urinating on a hooded prisoner. And last week, Ann Clwyd, Tory Blair's personal human rights envoy to Iraq, said she was probing the case of an elderly Iraqi woman who was forced to crawl on all fours while U.S. soldiers made her "like a donkey."

Humanitarian organizations, including the International Red Cross and Amnesty International, say they have documented hundreds of complaints of torture, false imprisonment and murder by coalition forces. "We brought this to the attention of the American authorities nearly a year ago," says Nade Chouksey, a London-based spokesperson for Amnesty. "We never received a



A female U.S. soldier humiliates a captive in Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison. In one of many pictures that have surfaced showing coalition forces abusing Iraqis, Bush has reacted downwards for Rumsfeld's O&O investigation, but other Pentagon officials may yet take the fall.

response." Reed Brody, legal counsel for the New York City-based Human Rights Watch, says his organization has raised similar concerns about other detainee facilities outside of Iraq. "There's too much secrecy and impunity. There's no oversight inside of the military," he says. "I don't trust my government, including my own, to hold people in a black hole." A Canadian

businessman, Hassan Shakeri, has filed a civil suit against the U.S. army, alleging he was repeatedly beaten during an unstarified five-week detention by coalition forces in Iraq last spring. While Canadian special forces in Afghanistan did turn over prisoners to U.S. authorities during the early days of the war, a Department of National Defense spokesman

said he knows of no investigations or complaints about the conduct of our soldiers. The 1,900 Canadian troops currently based in Kabul work under well-established International Security Assistance Force guidelines, said Maj. Mike Audette, and rules of engagement that demand "respectful and humane treatment" for all detainees.

While the initial U.S. investigations pointed the finger of blame at a poorly trained reserve unit (one of the allegations at Abu Ghraib involve members of a West Virginia-based reserve military police unit), there are uncomfortable questions about the whole control of detainee structure in Iraq. U.S. military intelligence officers, and prison-system contractors helping with interrogations, reportedly encouraged the guards to "break down" prisoners. Peter Doherty, an author and journalist who was a member of the Republican administration that probed Canada's Somalia affair, says he saw parallels between the scandals. "They're saying that it was a few bad apples, but that doesn't happen in a vacuum. It happens because there is a military society that accommodates that and brings out their worst tendencies." The two Canadian soldiers who tortured and killed 16-year-old Shuhada Awan in 1995 didn't try to hide what was happening, he says. "There was lots of evidence that his case that night were heard by friendly hundreds of soldiers. Everyone knew that something bad was going on, and no one said anything."

Judging by the growing and juicy imagery of the accused U.S. soldiers were doing for the camera, even as they mocked and humiliated their Iraq captives, they also felt there was nothing to be ashamed of. The line between liberator and oppressor was apparently crossed without a second thought. Any way you look at it, it's an ugly picture.

jonathan.gatehouse@btconnect.com

AFTER THE SIEGE

Falluja insurgents see the U.S. withdrawal as an admission of defeat

For a month, American forces laid siege to Falluja in an attempt to put down a Sunni insurgency. Under a negotiated settlement, U.S. troops began to pull back on April 30, having agreed that Iraqi forces would assume control of the city. *Macleans' Covering Editor Adam R. Khair was in the shattered city last week. He filed this report.*

THE CITY OF MOSQUES. Falluja was famous for others—a town of 200,000 people besieged with intensely designed minarets and domes, its domes laden as often five times a day with the mosque's haunting call to prayer. But over the past month many mosques have been shattered by bombs, while the mosque's call has been drowned out by machine weapons and artillery fire. In a mere 26 days, the City of Mosques has been transformed into the City of the Dead, a scene of the worst sound of fighting Iraq has ever since the war was officially declared over last May. The number of casualties is still unknown, but there is no doubt about the level of devastation. And it's in the Jordan neighborhood where the smell of death is most pungent. Buried deep beneath the rubble are some of the victims of the month-long siege of Falluja—men, women and children who were not able to escape the onslaught.

Falluja is a city crumbling from the outside in, part of it intensely populated sub-urbanized, its windows shattered. Jordan was the front line in the month-long battle between U.S. forces and Sunni insurgents, a neighborhood of five-story homes and crowded markets on the edge of town, directly across from U.S. military positions at the displaced train station. The most intense battles raged here, as shells from



A boy helps salvage what's left of his destroyed home in Falluja's Jordan district

American attack helicopters and Abrams M1A1 tanks rained down on the residents. Now, so narrow, dusty alleysways, displaced men and women sit through the remains of their homes, gathering up what little they have left. Wrecked cars rest on concrete walls, jammed there by the sheer force of American firepower.

Khalaf Hamed Jassim al-Muawi, 45, and his 10 sons have come home for the first time since the battle for Falluja began in April 4. They were lucky to have escaped early, lucky still to have been away when their house was pulverized into rubble by two heavy artillery shells. Khalaf takes me on a tour of his gutted house, climbing gingerly over piles of stone and concrete, broken glass and twisted metal. He shows me the baby's room, where, miraculously, the couple escaped damage. One of his sons gambled it up and took a bullet to the chest. "We had no idea it would be like this," Khalaf says. "We had no news of our house before we came here

Look what's left—wooden floors what we're going to do." Sunlight peeks through the gaping hole in the roof where a shell burst through. "Is this American freedom?" one of Khalaf's sons asks.

It's a question many Fallujans are asking these days. But with the siege lifted, at least for the time being, and American forces repositioned out of sight, residents are also wondering what will come next. Few think the violence over for good, least of all the city's tough-talking fighters, who have waved away their weapons and melted in with the locals.

Only a handful are willing to talk, but when they do, it's with defiance. "This is a great victory for the people of Iraq," says Abbas al-Ansari, a 45-year-old fighter who has returned from Jordan to his family home in Falluja's relatively quiet town center. "But we are not fooled by the Americans. They say they have left but we realize they are proving outside of town." For Abbas, there is only one solution that will end the conflict once and for all—the complete and permanent

withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. "They don't understand our ways," he argues. "They look down on us. That is the first problem. They come into our homes using the tanks. That is no way to win our respect. We can never accept people like that in our city."

With Falluja now under the control of Iraqi forces, Abbas is optimistic about the future. On May 4, the first batch of disarmed troops, the Falluja Brigade, arrived amid cheers and fanfare. Abbas says that, in general, the mujahadeen are happy about the arrival of these soldiers, led by a formerly called Iraqi intelligence officer. "The mujahadeen and the Falluja Brigade are brothers," he says. "We are all from al-Anbar province, we will never fight each other."

When the Iraqi company of 100 men, trucks and buses rolled into town, my Iraqi translator, who is also from al-Anbar, spoke up as the heart of the Sunni triangle where Saddam loyalists are concentrated, nervously remarked that the Americans may have shot themselves in the foot. The soldiers, wearing Saddam-era Iraqi flags and wearing the same uniforms they wore when they fought with

Iraqis, gathered at a soccer field turned into a cemetery for relatives killed during the siege.

tion faces during the invasion last year, made it abundantly clear where their loyalties lie. "They told us to change our uniforms," one soldier said, "but we refused. We are not with the Americans. We are Iraqi fighters."

FEW think the fighting is over, least of all the rebels, who have stowed their weapons and melted in with the locals

The Iraqi Civil Defense Corps, the newly formed national guard, is also building up a desert base preparation for training on the American allies in the fight against insurgents. According to one ICDC soldier in Falluja, the arrival of the Falluja Brigade amounts to an American defeat. "We see our people coming in," he said, clapping hands with other jubilant soldiers. "It's better than

the Americans being here—they lost, they should leave."

U.S. military commanders have characterized their withdrawal as a unilateral disengagement that will only last as long as calm prevails. So far, it has. And the ever-late has given locals an opportunity to begin reclaiming their city. It's a horrifying task: ceremonies are full, bodies are now being taken to the town's soccer stadium where, according to the coordinator, up to 800 have been buried. "We have about 10 to 20 burials a day," he says, adding that a body has been brought in to dig trenches for the dead.

In the town's mosques, prayers and worshippers are spending more time denouncing rubble than worshipping. "This is how we show our devotion to God now," says Hashim Ibrahim Alawi, a 44-year-old resident of the Jordan neighborhood. With a steady cry of "Allah Akbar"—God is great—he and a small group begin the difficult task of clearing the al-Mahdiyah mosque. The minaret, a 40-m-tall tower that neighborhood residents say was the second tallest in Falluja, lies in a heap in the



HAVE YOUR SAY

At Maclean's and maclean.ca, we want to get to know you and what you think. That's why we created the Advisory Panel. By responding to our occasional online questionnaires, members can help shape the future of both the magazine and the Web site.

**JOIN OUR
ADVISORY PANEL**
www.macleans.ca/webpanel

MACLEAN'S

ROGERS

Irish >



insurgent's courtyard. Hashem guides me through the destruction, pointing out where the imam was praying when a shell tore through his office, killing him on the spot. A wall surrounding the mosque's fineries holds a mosaic of various faces. We step through one and onto the edge of the barren no man's land between Jordan and the American patrol zone 400 m away. A survey of Hashem passes by in the distance, and Hashem quickly returns me inside. "They are still shooting at us," he claims. "It's dangerous to be exposed."

A cloud of fear hovers over this desolate part of the city. Hashem bitterly recalls what he has witnessed a permanent scar on his

"THE Americans look down on us. They come into our homes acting like kings. That is no way to win our respect."

memory. "We had no warning that the Americans were going to attack," he says. "I was sitting in my shop with my son when seven soldiers came in. They said, 'Salameh, which I thought was kind of funny because Americans usually don't greet our men in that way. Then they were back to their tank. Ten minutes later the fighting started.'"

Hashem grabbed his son and fled home,

while he remained in hiding with his family for the duration of the month-long conflict, surviving on bread and water and what ever he could scavenge from his shop during lulls in the fighting. "The Americans suspect we wouldn't let us leave our homes," he claims. "They fired at anything that moved. I couldn't even go out to find cigarettes. I had to roll them from writing paper and old books."

Back at Khalaf's home, the hunt for jihadists has ended with mosque residents. Neither he nor his sons dare to dig through the rubble, too afraid of triggering the precariously dangling roof down on their heads or disturbing unexploded ordnance. Khalaf shakes his head and mumbles over the rubble in the truck outside. Two of his sons will remain behind, sleeping on mats, to protect what ever remains from looters. The rest of the family has no choice but to return to a friend's home in another part of Amman province. As he climbs into the truck, Khalaf offers some advice to American war planners: "Do not come back to Falluja. If you do, we will shoot you. We will kill your magazines and fight you to the death." And the destruction, such devastation sounds a little forced. But there is no doubt that, for many Falluja residents, the war is far from over.

Politics | BY JOHN GEDDES

THE MEDICARE MONEY TREE

Are the Liberals really against private health care, or just trying to quash a touchy debate?

OFTEN IT DOESN'T do to be candid in politics. One of the most mocked slip ups on Kim Campbell's way to leading the Tories in 1993 to their worst election debacle was her remark that a campaign was no time to debate policy. She had a point, though. And in this federal political season, Campbell's axiom is proving true for the pre-campaign period, too. Witness Pierre Pettigrew's apparently harmless statement that the Canada Health Act allows private firms to deliver publicly insured health services. Such was the outcry over the mere mention of this undeniable fact that the federal health minister had to send a nearly mouthed statement stressing that he didn't mean the government encourages that sort of thing. And so, Liberal rhetoric on arguably the most pressing issue facing Canadian politicians could be boiled down to this: public good, private bad.

Of course, the real world of health care doesn't lend itself to such simplistic prescriptions. Like it or not, the private sector's role—from for-profit MRI scanners, to doctor-owned walk-in clinics, to new hospitals built and managed by companies—is becoming one of the key elements in the system. Just don't expect that to be frankly debated in the race toward the vote. Paul Martin is now widely expected to call for June 28. Instead of discussing what's really happening, the Liberals prefer to talk about a stiffer choice between universal health care and what Martin drolly calls "cheque book medicine." The problem is, no federal party is advocating anything like a user-pay revolution. Stephen Harper refuses to play the villain's role, invoking a line that Con-



servation agree with the centre of the road of public insurance, allowing flexibility for private delivery.

Lost in phony black-and-white, private vs. public rhetoric are all the grey nuances. There are arguments

Pettigrew's apparently harmless statement provoked a major uproar

about an issue where there are no simple answers. For instance, how do you charge for medical by necessary services? Premier Gordon Campbell's stance last fall by quickly passing a law that would have given the

provinces the power to add duties and levy fines up to \$10,000 against doctors who accepted money for treatments that should be covered by public insurance. But soon after Martin took over in December, Campbell backed off and decided not to put the law into force. "I think it may well turn out that we don't need it at all," he said.

A spokesman for Pettigrew denies the position from Chrétien to Martin was what

took the pressure off Campbell. He said that, all along, Health Canada officials didn't mean to signal that a law as severe as the one the B.C. government passed was being demanded by Ottawa. So what do the fish want B.C. to do. Anything, about the private clinics? The details remain to be worked out, Pettigrew's spokesman says, in negotiations with the province, expected to culminate this summer—certainly after the expected June election. No need to trouble voters in advance about the details.

So far now, it's business as usual for B.C. firms such as Image One MRI Clinic Inc. in Kelowna, opened last year by Kris Stewart, a registered nurse. Stewart was inspired by personal experience: the doctor who was treating her for leg pain resulting from an old sports injury told her she would have to wait a year for an MRI scan. Her frustration led to a business plan based on the straight-forward premise: "It's a high-demand, low supply industry," Stewart says. Many of her clients would never qualify for publicly insured MRI scans, such as patients involved in personal injury lawsuits who want scans to take to court. Others would get scans through the public system after lengthy waits, but are willing to pay about \$800 for what is often same-day scanning.

Deciding who really needs an MRI can be tricky. Consider the individual whose doctor suggests they have multiple sclerosis. Dennis Grootenboer, vice-president of accommodations for the Multiple Sclerosis Society of Canada, explains that an MRI scan can help with the diagnosis of MS. Yet patients often wait two or three months, since getting that confirmation might allow them to be regarded by doctors as medically urgent. Patients frequently decide to pay for scans themselves to end the stressful uncertainty and perhaps start treatment. "People shouldn't be put in that position," Grootenboer says. The MSc society wants more MRI scans available quickly under medicare.

Even where there is no question of patients having to pull out their credit cards, making a buck in health is increasingly controversial. Advocates of a pure public system are up in arms about a few hospitals being built and opened through public-private partnerships, known as P3s. A prominent example is the new Royal Ottawa Hospital, a planned 188-bed psychiatric teaching facility affiliated with the University of Ottawa, slated to open in 2006. Its main concern will



be the Royal Ottawa Health Care Group, which has a public board and represents health professionals. Patients will be fully covered by medicare. But the landlord in charge of the build-

Meritt (with Ontario's Premier Dalton McGuinty) talks about work choices

ing's construction and management is a private consortium. "That doesn't weaken or dilute our health-care values," says George Langille, Royal Ottawa Health Care Group's CEO. "There's confusion that public-private partnerships can somehow cross the line."

Figuring out just when the federal Liberals stand on P3 hospitals is not easy. Meritt has appointed Ontario MP John McKay as parliamentary secretary with a special responsibility for looking into how the federal government might benefit from public-

ness. "They have to deal with ever escalating costs and a demographic crunch," McKay said. "So whether P3s are appropriate or not is going to be up to them."

And the private sector's role is hardly limited to the MRI niche and big hospital projects. Meritt himself got treatment from the Montreal doctor who founded a clinic clinic, Medcity Health Group Inc., that offers both publicly insured services and extras paid for by private plans. Doctors generally own their practices, and as health-policy experts press for what's called primary care reform—new ways of delivering basic doctor services—that model is still widely favored. One of the most detailed reform proposals, a plan from University of Toronto health economists now being studied by Ottawa, calls for bringing together doctors and other experts in new clinics "owned and operated by regulated health professionals, so as to ensure shared goals for service delivery, resource utilization and clinical outcomes."

The report assumes this sort of private ownership doesn't clash with public interest. Whether voters are inclined to agree or not, there's no sign so far that they'll be treated to real debate on the question in the coming election. At Kim Campbell made the mistake of telling us, issues that important generally have to wait until the messy business of democracy is put to rest.

PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE FOR THE GAZETTE. PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ROYAL OTTAWA HEALTH CARE GROUP. PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ROYAL OTTAWA HEALTH CARE GROUP. PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ROYAL OTTAWA HEALTH CARE GROUP.



A dollar a mile for the first 42,600 miles. Free after that.

It's every bit the sports car you've heard it is. It's more attainable than you might think. \$42,600 secures you a mid-mounted flat-six engine, timeless Porsche lines, and the kind of balance and control you simply cannot put a price on. Porsche. There is no substitute.

PUBLIC health advocates are up in arms about a few hospitals built in partnership with private entities

private partnerships. If such hospitals, McKay said, provincial politicians will have to decide if the model makes sense, since health is their jurisdiction. Still, he sound of broadly sympathetic with provinces that are looking for private capital and expertise when it comes to finding ways to afford new facilities.



PORSCHE



THE INDISTINCT SOCIETY

The Bloc may be popular, but Quebecers are in tune with Canada

IF THE POLLS are any indication, we're about to be faced with a startling paradox: a large contingent of Bloc Québécois MPs—from a Quebec that has never felt more in tune with the rest of Canada. Call it the second Quiet Revolution. While virtually no one has been paying attention, a seismic change has taken place in Quebec. And it's one that not only has lasting positive effects for our country and its unity.

For the first time in our common history, Quebecers and their fellow Canadians are united on a wide range of issues. From Canada's place in the world, to a focus on nurturing social programs, to tolerance in areas such as marijuana legislation and gay marriage, to

Canada—and, in particular, the Iraq war. The biggest anti-war protests have been in Quebec. During the leaders' debate in the 2003 Quebec election, all three party leaders wore anti-war sash ribbons. Shortly before his death, separatist filmmaker Pierre Bourque told a Montreal radio station that it was a shame that Jean Charest would not be running for re-election, because he would vote for him for having kept Canada out of Iraq.

As Quebec has stepped out of its long-time isolationism with the United States, a second phenomenon has taken shape: the normalization of its relationship with the rest of Canada. The near death experience of the 1995 referendum is, in hindsight, essential in redefining Quebecers' attitude for the nation. It took that kind of shock to the system to finally put an end to what had become a totally predictable and dysfunctional relationship between Quebec and the rest of the country. The "knife to the throat" is what the late political scientist Léon Duro called it: the constant threat that unless Quebec got its way on this issue or that, it might leave Canada altogether.

A combination of referendum fatigue among Quebecers, the Clarity Act in Ottawa (laying out the ground rules if there's ever another referendum on Quebec's separation), and the means of almost losing a country put an end to that, and, even more importantly, to the constant demands for constitutional change.

As Quebecers have reflected on the sobering aftermath of the 1995 referendum, they've done so with the confidence of a French language and culture's first manager and more firmly entrenched than at any time in the history of Canada. And they've also adopted a quintessentially Canadian approach of frankly celebrating Quebec's ethnic diversity—a kind of societal rejection of Patenaude's referendum night homing agent "others."

Taken together, these trends of rejection of the U.S., a new post-referendum self-image and a rediscovery of shared values

of unabashedly pro-American superstar leaders, from René Lévesque (who pointedly chose to attach himself to the U.S. rather than Canadian army as a war correspondent during the Second World War) to Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard (whose spouse is American-born).

Throughout the late 1980s, Macdonell's year-end poll consistently showed Quebec was the province in Canada with the highest support for economic integration with the U.S. In the 1988 election, Quebec was the only province in which there was no serious

ON A wide range of issues, Quebecers have come to believe there's a Canadian approach—and it's one they embrace

opposition to the Free Trade Agreement in the 1995 referendum, a sign of agreement of the 10th vote that in that separating, Quebec could, in effect, cut out the middle man called Canada, maintaining all as unfettered free trade and privileges with the U.S.

Fast forward to 2004, when Quebec has gone from being the most pro-American region in Canada to being the most anti-American. In the year-end poll, more than 60 per cent of Quebecers said their attitude toward the United States had become more negative in recent years—compared to just under half of Canadians as a whole.

The key trigger has undoubtedly been the general omission of the Bush administration—which is broadly unpopular in

with the rest of Canada point is a whopping 90 per cent more, the *Dixie Society* is distinctly Canadian.

What does it mean for the future? Well, for the short term, it may not change much. As in other cases, politicians are the last ones to pick up on major social change. We note the fact that in the countdown to the federal election, the three major national parties are chasing the national vote in Quebec. Paul Martin has bypassed federalist standard-bearer Stéphane Dion and Martin Gauthier and appointed former MP and BQ founder Jean Lapierre as his Quebec lieutenant. Lapierre has referred to the Clarity Act as "useless" and, with great fanfare, recreated "Famille" separates to suit

for the Liberals. Conservative Leader Stephen Harper has stayed openly about forming a coalition with the BQ, and criticized the Quebec organization of its recent leadership campaign as a one-time fitness aide. And the NDP's Jack Layton has publicly restated his party's long-time message of welcome to Quebec: multiculturalism—in the manner of one grievance-based politician reflexively appealing to the perceived grievances of others.

Ironically, indications are that the Bloc Québécois may be dropping its nationalistic dithering and focusing on explicitly Canadian value issues, such as health spending, multiculturalism, gun control and progressive stances on gay marriage and HIV/AIDS.

The long-term outlook can't help but be positive. Through our country's history, conservatives have often worried the real kinship between Quebec and the rest of Canada is a marriage, often quarantined and troubled. To build on this analogy, it might be said that the marriage has matured past its rocky youth, past its passions and dalliances, to a comfortable, mature state of shared outlook and values. There may be more exciting ways of living together. But it's hard to think of a more successful—or, for that matter, more Canadian—one.

Peter Donold served as Jean Charest's communications director from 1995 to 1998. He is now executive vice president at the market research firm The Strategic Council.

AFRICA'S ENDLESS WAR

Despite new atrocities, Sudan still hopes for peace

Over 20 years of war in Sudan have resulted in more than two million civilian deaths. In a concerted effort to bring peace to this troubled nation, the government and the south-east Sudan People's Liberation Movement have been working in Kampala to negotiate an end to the conflict. For while a north-south peace agreement may be just months away, new violence between rebel movements and government-backed militias has erupted in Sudan's western region of Darfur, threatening hundreds of thousands of lives. Dr Eric Hoggins of War Child Canada, who previously lived in Sudan for three years, flatly says this report from the southern part of the country.

WHEN DAVID NOK, now 13, government soldiers set fire to his family's mud and thatch hut. He escaped, but his brothers and uncles burned to death. "There has been war here since time began," Nok says. "My great-grandfather was killed by the British over 100 years ago, my grandfather was killed by the Arabs, and my father was killed after him." Nok, who runs a youth organization in Rumbek, the administrative center of the rebel-held south of the country, notes that Sudan's best chance for peace in decades may be lost if there isn't a political agreement soon. Why such urgency, I ask him. "By the time of the U.S. elections, or if someone new comes after Bush, they will forget about Sudan," he says.

The United States, along with other countries, has been pushing hard for a peace agreement in Sudan, motivated in part by the wish to bring the Sudanese government—previously accused of sponsoring terrorism—back onto the international field. But peace would be only the first step in helping this ravaged nation. Sudan, roughly one quarter the size of Canada, is Africa's largest country and one of its poorest. Over the years, it has been devastated by drought,

famine and war. Entire generations have grown up without ever knowing peace, but with an intimate knowledge of hardship in southern Sudan, one child in five dies before the age of 5, there is only one doctor for every 50,000 people (compared to one per 500 in Canada), and less than one third of school-aged children attend school.

The war in Sudan is the world's longest ongoing conflict. In 1955, the southern and largely Christian Sudanese rebelled against the political dominance of the Arab and Muslim north. Fighting ceased temporarily in 1972 when the government in Khartoum granted the south limited autonomy. But in 1983 Khartoum revoked the south's autonomy and imposed Islamic law. Since then, the war between government forces and John Garang's rebel Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) has claimed more than two million civilian lives, mostly women and children.

Aid international pressure in the wake of Sept. 11, the government and the SPLM signed the landmark Machakos Protocol in July 2002, paving the way for peace. The second acknowledges the south's key demand for a referendum on self-determination (after a 60-year interim period), and the government's desire to retain Islamic law in the north. Since then, agreement has also been reached on security arrangements for the interim period and wealth sharing.

ONE coordinator for the UN describes Darfur region as "the world's greatest human rights catastrophe"

A father cradles his malnourished daughter at a nearby war-torn clinic.



under which revenue from oil—a thriving sector ever since its discovery in the south in the 1970s—will be split equally.

Two difficult problems remain to be resolved before a peace agreement can be signed. One is the process mechanism for power sharing during the interim period. The second is the status of those displaced areas. But Washington is putting renewed pressure on both sides to reach a deal as soon as possible. And peace will bring other rewards: international donors have said they will provide significant aid and development assistance to Sudan once an agreement is finalized. Until now, most assistance has been short-term emergency aid, Canada

has provided more than \$40 million in humanitarian relief to Sudan since 2000.

With the prospect of peace come new concerns. During the past 20 years, up to four million southern Sudanese fled their war-torn region and migrated to other parts of the country. Roughly two million of them have relocated in Khartoum. With a peace deal, the UN expects that many of the displaced, as well as the estimated 400,000 refugees living in neighboring countries, will return to the south. That could create huge problems as resources and local residents compete for scarce resources and services. "This is one of the biggest challenges facing us," says Apollo Mulek Chai, regional director of

the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, southern Sudan's fledgling civil administration. "The returnees need education, health care, shelter, water, clothing and above all security. And they are coming with different views and perspectives."

Frank Marica, the UNICEF representative in Nyala, a tiny village east of Rumbek on the edge of the Nile, agrees. "We expect a lot of shocks, as the two cultures come together," he says. "The returnees will have enjoyed a lot of freedom and may not want to stick to local customs. The youth will have grown up in urban areas, with lots of activities that don't fit in here. The returnees will be better educated and will get the good

jobs. But some of the local people will say, 'You ran away and we stayed, so we should have the jobs.'"

Another major challenge will be demobilizing the fighting forces—including child soldiers. More than 15,000 of them have already been demobilized in the south. Instead of organizing demobilization training camps, the UN plans to quickly re-integrate children with their families, and provide economic and other support to the communities receiving them.

But, according to one UN official, "the donors don't want to go too far, too fast, before the peace deal is signed." This cautious and-risky approach to peace may work,

In an accident,
some people's lives flash
before them.
Edgar Muller heard voices.



Lately, the "Voice" Edgar heard was his Drifter Advisor, telling to say the lot a signal that his car was deployed and that he would call for help. A rescue team got to the scene quickly, and within minutes he was freed from his car. Stories like this happen every day. And since Drifter was introduced, we've helped our subscribers with everything from contacting emergency services to sending a signal to unlock their doors if they lock their keys inside. So make sure to purchase your next vehicle with Drifter. To learn more, visit your GM dealer or visit us at onstarads.com. If you're already an OnStar subscriber, it's easy to minimize the safety and security you already count on, for only \$24.95 a month. Simply press the blue Drifter button and tell the Advisor you'd like to receive or extend your service.



OnStar
Always there. Always ready.

*Visit onstar.com for more information. ©2006 OnStar Corp. All rights reserved. OnStar is a registered trademark of OnStar Corp. All rights reserved.

Sudan | >



Edgar Muller said:
"Sometimes I receive love I survive still."

encouraging both parties to make negotiations seriously. But there's a caveat: as long as negotiations are still underway, the protesters remain in place.

And even as some efforts to rebuild the south get underway, another conflict is raging. A year ago, violence in the western region of Darfur between pro-government forces and rebels began to escalate. Since then, more than 100,000 people have been killed and one million have been forcibly displaced. Millions loyal to Khartoum are accused of indiscriminate killings, widespread rape, looting, burning villages and driving children, rebel groups, accused of similar atrocities, say Khartoum has marginalized the western region. In March, Mahdi Kiplisi, the UN humanitarian coordinator for Sudan, described Darfur as "the world's grossest humanitarian and human rights catastrophe." And in a recently leaked report, a UN investigative team stating the area in late April found evidence of atrocities serious enough to warrant charges of "war crimes and crimes against humanity."

Although a ceasefire was agreed to in early April, each side has accused the other of breaking it. Talks, brokered by neighboring Chad, have yet to yield results. And as the UN and aid groups desperately try to improve access to the remote region and ramp up relief efforts, there is fear of starvation and all-out famine. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan

has called for an urgent international effort to end the conflict, including, if necessary, UN-authorized military intervention. Back in the south, in Nyal, along the edge of thick papyrus marshes bordering the banks of the Nile, I spent time with Thomas Gajig and his family. Thomas was six when, in 1988, he was separated from his parents. He passed thousands of boy-forgotten the hell war by walking to refugee camps in neighboring Ethiopia—a two-month journey. Called "the lost boys," more than 15,000 of them tried to make the perilous trip, and then a second dangerous trek to Kenya. Over half of the boys died, succumbing to starvation, dehydration and disease.

In 1999, Thomas returned to his parents' village. To his surprise, his mother was still alive. Now 22, Thomas married, with two small children of his own. "I sometimes wonder how I survived at all," he tells me. "Things are improving, though. We will have peace again soon. Hopefully, all of the children will go through what I did. I want for them to live to be happy and to go to school. Nothing more."

Thomas proudly shows me his home: a mud hut surrounded by a beefsteak fence. His mother lives in his mother's, who shares the same compound with her brothers. His wife confirms their newborn. Later, as the UN plane leaves the airstrip in Nyal, I look back toward the village, past the crowd of children who have come to see us off, and hope peace will come soon enough for Thomas to resolve his dreams.

Column | DONALD COSE



THE CHINA SYNDROME

If the giant's economy collapses, the whole world will shake

THE MAY 3 ISSUE of *BusinessWeek* has a scary cover: "CHINA HEADED FOR A CRISIS?" Inside is an eight-page article describing a boom headed for bust: "The *BW* article is merely the latest and shrillest version of the emerging consensus on China: it has grown too fast, 45 per cent of its bank loans are bad, there's too much hot money flowing in from abroad, there's massive overbuilding of houses and office towers, SARS may return, and inflation certainly has. A worst-case scenario: the Chinese bubble of 1992-1994 when inflation hit double-digit peaks now bursts. Then greater Zhu Rongji burst that bubble

with draconian rules to stop rampant lending." The result: a crash. China's economy would any back then that most of the world's banks noticed.

With China now such a major player on the world's economic stage, a crash now would wound the entire global economy. Commodity prices would tumble and return to the bear market conditions of the post-inflation boom of the late 1970s. I like the *BusinessWeek* article because it summarizes the emerging consensus on a Chinese collapse. It is, in brief, no coincidence that commodities and commodity stocks plummeted just after the magazine hit the newsstands. April 29 saw some of the worst energy-related commodity prices since the boom began two years ago.

There's no doubt the losses in Beijing are scored about the nation's recovery growth. The new statistics show that the GDP is growing in the 10 per cent range, but some observers think the real growth rate is closer to 15 per cent. Since Chinese statistics are at least as prone to error as American data (which is frequently and embarrassingly remedied), I should not be surprised if the crash is inflated and upbraid closer to the truth.

There's also no doubt that China needs to bring growth closer to a long-term trend (a robust eight per cent) by controlling lending for capital investment. Some observers estimate that spending on construction, machinery and equipment is running at 45 per cent or more of total GDP: a dangerously high level. It means the nation is building too many factories and too many office

buildings and apartment buildings. Fantastic overbuilding means creation of inefficiency capacity that must eventually get written down or written off.

Yet world markets tumbled when China last month announced several measures including raising bank reserve requirements, imposed controls on loans to build steel, aluminum and cement plants, and barred at raising interest rates and maybe even raising the value of its currency, the renminbi. That's dramatic, but not scintillating news. It's not driving a car in the snow at 150 km an hour and he approaches a dangerous curve, his passengers will doubtless feel very different if the accelerator is 75 without steering the brake pedal to the floor. Beijing now seems to be doing the right

thing at 25 per cent in 1994), so a major wide cooling-off would come in time to prevent a crash.

Skeptics note that Beijing no longer is an economic model; its massive power in the communist in the provinces, many of whom are so terrified of triggering a rise in unemployment that they will keep its pre-announcing frantic growth. The world's last monetary Maoist, centrally controlled economy (apart from Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea, which are too busy to count) has morphed in recent years into a loose federation in which most economic and financial decisions are made locally. That, of course, is the reason why China is a semi-stable success, but it raises the question: can Beijing's losses limit the losses?

Oddly, yes. What we know about big governments is that they can't create wealth and progress, but they can control or destroy wealth and progress. China's astonishing wealth-creation machine is driven by endless supplies of low-cost labour, foreign direct investment and millions of entrepreneurs. Beijing's entrepreneurs are not so free as free-market, police-state, cheerleader, central bank, trade negotiator and, as in the case of SARS, un-its manager.

Beijing has enough muscle to restrain the runaway national spirit, and so has enough wisdom to know how to use this muscle. The Asian economies that went into 1997 had overvalued currencies and too many export-oriented reserves. China has an undervalued currency and US\$450 billion in reserves.

The most famous cover in *BusinessWeek* history was "The death of equities," which came out in 1979 just before history's great equity bubble burst. It is a collection of stories. Perhaps the case will turn out to be as valuable.

Donald Cose is chairman of American Investment Management in Chicago and of Toronto-based Jones Investment Investments. dcose@investments.com

SEX, SUE & CELEBRITY

How a Canadian granny became the darling of *Letterman* and the American media **BY SHANDA DEZIEL**

A COUPLE OF CANADIANS bump into each other backstage at *Letterman*. Dawson from the Ed Sullivan Theater in New York City, Sue Johnson and Paul Shaffer made names of northern Ontario landmarks while posing at the elevator "Ratty River, Red Lake," Shaffer shouts. "Ankikan," Johnson shouts back. That's the highlight behind the scenes—no Dave Letterman wandering around, no beeper with 800-plus a headliner from Thunder Bay, and a sex educator from Renora, getting geographical.

Of course, though, Johnson tells *Letterman* and his first guests, actress Kate Beckinsale, have no chemistry and almost nothing to talk about, which leads to a too long discussion about appendicitis. While Beckinsale waits for questions and then answers politely, Johnson controls her interview. She pounces on Letterman

the minute she sits down, asking about his sex life now that he's the father of a six-month-old boy. Letterman takes the bait and makes a self-deprecating remark, and they're off and running.

During this trip to New York, Johnson also visited *Late Call with Conore Daly*, CBS's *Early Show* and *Live with Regis and Kelly*. But *Letterman* is the main event—it's her third visit to his show, and their comedic chemistry is undeniable. He seems truly smitten, grasping her hand during commercial breaks and keeping her on for two segments, cutting time away from the more famous and, let's face it, pretty people. You believe the producers when they tell this grandmother of two, "You're one of the best guests." They won't let her leave without nailing down a date for her next visit, asking her to come back in four months. "No, sorry," she says, "in September I'm too busy lecturing at universities and colleges."



In the U.S., the on-show host (shown in Beverly Hills) is new and indigestible

Seriously Sue, it's *Letterman*: the University of Toronto can wait.

By now, Canadians take Johnson for granted. Yeah, she's that septuagenarian sex lady who speaks at our colleges, or whom we secretly watch on late-night TV. It's that raunchy show where she talks around sex toys and, with a straight face, gives tips on oral sex or finding the G spot. She doesn't shock us anymore, and we don't even think about how much she's helped this country open up and talk about sex. But she has—and she's got the Order of Canada to prove it.

It's a whole different story in the U.S. There, she's new, she's outrageous and she's spreading a message they are absolutely desperate for. In January 2002, Oprah Winfrey's Oxygen network started playing reruns of Johnson's call-in program, *Weekend Night Sex Show* (which has been running in Canada on W for nine years). It was extremely popular—but the U.S. viewers were frustrated by the fact that they couldn't call in. So the network asked Johnson to tape a second show each week, *Talk Sex with Sue Johnson*, for American cities only—the first ever U.S. phone-in show to be done live from Canada. Just last month *Talk Sex*, one of the network's highest rated programs, pulled in 2.7 million viewers. Sue Johnson has become a household name, although down there they shorten it to Sue Jo.

In New York City, waiters, doormen, limo drivers, restaurant patrons, security workers and nearly everyone she comes into contact with profits from her fame. For a while her face was plastered on the sides of city buses. She's been on *Cosmo* O'Brien, and has travelled to Los Angeles to appear on *Ellen* and *Wayne Brady*. They've all experienced the three stages of Sue: first you blink, then you choke and shake your head in disbelief, then you double over laughing. Of course, everyone wants her back. But the true measure of Johnson's celebrity status came last January. "The highest compliment you can pay anyone is to do a sketch about them on *Saturday Night Live*," says Gerry Laybourne, the CEO of Oxygen. "And they've done a sketch about her!"

The skit was a take-off on Sharon Osbourne's talk show. Johnson, played by Rachel Dratch with the requisite grey curly hair and lion's head, hokey wardrobe, is the guest. While the host dabbles all over her dogs and whines about Ozzy, Dratch blares

out sexual non-sequiturs—"I have the ripples!" and "I'm experiencing an orgasm. It's very healthy and natural!" Truly he knows, the real support turned down as appearance on Obama's show. As much as she's a host who loves the comedic banter, Johnson's not out to make her own celebrity. Her mission is to make people comfortable and happy with their sex lives and aware of sexually transmitted infections. Wayne Brady understood this, and he let her talk at length on his show about the epidemic of genital herpes in the U.S. (According to the American Social Health Association, one out of every five adults has it.)

Based on the calls she's getting on her U.S. show, Johnson believes Americans are a decade behind Canada when it comes to an education and understanding of their bodies. "They watch much more porn," she says, "and all the TV is, of course, sex! But that doesn't seem to make them comfortable with themselves as sexual human beings." Considering President George W. Bush's new policy to increase funding for sexual abstinence programs in schools, Johnson feels she's needed more than this ever.

That said, she worries about being too much in the limelight. "Dr. Ruth was over exposed," she states, master of forty (and paragon) to that other sex-savvy granny, who once appeared in a short-porn video, reminding contemporary while an actress-fled an orgasm. "She went on *Malcolm in the Middle*, and then on *Mad*. Donald [Trump] dug up at a nurse in Philadelphia. You lose a lot of credibility when you do stuff like this."

Johnson sees the subject as playful but lucrative for her own show, where viewers have come to expect some pretty funny stuff. She's going on a demonstration, and can be up at her elbow in Johnson's underwear. She'll bring out a three-dollar show paragon, have to have sex, or even use some homemade lube and have her own model on camera. And she's always bringing their genderless array of party dolls in the room, representing of sexual positions. Her favorite gag, though, is to just turn on a vibrator and let it spin around on her desk.

Had the pleasure of watching Johnson on the Swedish Night Show for three years, and one of my dream was making her the butchess in those sexy wigs. I'd know first-hand that Johnson means her clothes with respect, whether she's sharing a laugh with a guy who wants to masturbate



with two chicks (but he worried about salmonella) or advising a different young man, newly infected with HIV, how to tell his part partner. Johnson is always focused more on the caller than on having a TV show—and it makes for a refreshingly honest hour of viewing. There's nothing slick about the production or Johnson's, who says most of her own wardrobe and refuses to have her hair properly coiffed. "It's like a poor guy's poor guy's poor guy," says Dr. J. Galtner, director of both the U.S. and Canadian programs, "and she made this show in her basement."

Off camera she's paragon and caring. She takes swordplay classes for the crew every week, spends a bit of quality time with everyone before the show, and even chills the crew up to her cottage during the summer for a weekend of tennis, croquet, and a ten-day give-away. "Every month we send backlogs," says Oregon's Livbourne. "She gives the flowers to someone on her crew and then writes to me with these beautiful

grand motherly cards and tells me about the crew member she gave the flowers to."

JOHANSON WAS BORN (she won't say in which year) (born in a distant British war hero, Wilfred Powell, and an affluent Ontario born Irish-Protestant mother, Edith Bell, who died when Johnson was 10). After high school in Keweenaw, Ont., where she was living with her

stepmother and heavy-drinking father, she went to nursing school in Winnipeg at a hospital run by nuns. "We were taught that sex was only for marriage," recalls Johnson. "There was no birth control. Condoms were for protection against disease, and you had coquettish hidden them to give sperm a fighting chance."

Soon after graduating, she married Einar Johnson, a Swedish-Canadian electrician, and they had three children at 10-month intervals, Carol, Eric, and Jane. "We were living in Keweenaw, in a Swedish area," Johnson. "We called it Honey Hollow—see



way all pigs, all the time." Although she had no desire to work after her kids were born, she was destined to stay home for ever. She had a reputation as someone who could talk to. And after helping a neighborhood girl cope with an intense religious frenzy, Johnson found her path.

Recognizing how many unlearned folk were having marriage problems, in 1970 she set up the first North American sexual-health clinic located in a high school (Toronto's Don Mills Collegiate). When civic parents called the principal after finding their daughters' birth control pills, he gave them Johnson's home phone number. "They'd be on a rant," she remembers, "and I would just say, 'I don't know if your daughter was at this clinic, but if she was, then you should be so proud of her. She planned ahead, knew what she was doing, and had insurance enough not to take any chances.' You'd agree, you'd raise a daughter who has sense of herself." By the time she finished, married and divorced.

Johnson began teaching sex ed in schools before taking her message to the masses in 1984—she's been on the radio or TV ever since. Her teaching resonated her line, and every fall and winter she crosses the country, often driving by herself through snowstorms, to lecture at universities and colleges. Robert Mithausen, the Canadian host

of *Life Now*'s new show, *Sex, Drugs & Glaciers*, still has a poster from when Johnson visited Guelph University, where Wilbourne was a student. "I intended to her on the radio

growing up, with the lights off, volume on low to my parents wouldn't know I was still awake," says Mithausen, 28, who teaches sexuality at Indiana University. "Like so many people in my peer group, I got my basic sex education from Sue."

Over the years, the Canadian public has claimed Johnson as a consultant at large. It's not uncommon for her to be cornered in the frozen food aisle of a grocery store and asked, "There's a problem with my husband's



SUE'S TOP 10 MYTHS

As host of call-in sex shows in both Canada and the U.S., Sue Johnson has a pretty good idea of just how deluded we can be about sex. Ten of the most common sexual myths she encounters if you have sex in the bath, you won't get pregnant.

More girls don't carry condoms. It always hurts the first time you have sex. Homosexuals always have strong mothers and weak fathers. A sexual education promotes sexual activity.

If you masturbate, you'll have a lower sperm count.

As gay can get trapped in a vagina. As a penis pump will cause the penis larger. If you swallow ejaculate it will give you big breasts, clear up acne and eliminate menstrual cramps. As a man can always tell if a woman is taking orgasm.

SOURCE: *Weekend Admissions* (a book about Johnson's Column) shared by Dr. J. Galtner with John Smith and Sue Johnson (EW Press)



FOR SHOOTING STARS, SIMPLY STEP ON THE GAS.

Cruise navigation was never so much fun. Presenting the all-new Camry Solara—award-winning Sport mode. And a 4-wheel independent suspension is here to keep you comfortable. A 225-hp V6 pleases you for 17" alloy wheels. It gets a 0-60 down smoothly into the night. For your auditory pleasure, a premium JBL sound in a mere 7.5 seconds. For the twisty bits, the 5-speed automatic transmission system comes standard with a 6-disc CD changer. For details, or to book a test car, be moved from the normal Drive position into the sequential shifting of 3rd drive (day or night) see your Toyota dealer or call 1-888-TOYOTA-8 or visit toyota.com

The All-New 2004 Camry Solara Convertible

TOYOTA
the feeling never ends



erations, when should I do it?" But that kind of uncertain sex is still on Johnson's own marriage. "My life was so hectic," she says, "and the way Elton was brought up, women weren't high profile, it was the men. So it's difficult for him—I can't go anywhere without our people seeing, so maybe getting autographs." Their audience was to live apart and remain married, using each other often and celebrating all holidays together. "We like each other," she says, "and we talk to each other just about every day."

But do they "do it"? It isn't easy asking Johnson about her sex life. In person, she's more granular than her dreamy old friend. And while she told *Cancon Daily* the truth enjoys "fun and games," when I knock the topic over lunch she gives a firm out: "We're not going there." "Oh, well, that behind us, it's better to the other topics of gardening, sewing and cooking—after all, she has a great mastery of recipes that involve sauté and graté jelly."

MAKING THE MORNING TV rounds in Manhattan, Johnson throws a green room with Carly Simon and Beethoven Boy Brian Lattal at Regis and Kelly, and *The Early Show* she's with two *Survivor* alumni, Scott from *Survivor: Marquesas* and Brandon from *Survivor: Africa*. She recognizes no one. In the studio at *The Early Show*, the *Survivor* segment is being recorded live and only the people directly involved are paying attention. Sue and her interviewers, the distinguished and funny Harry Sealth, are in the corner quietly chatting while everyone else goes about their jobs with heads down. But when Johnson and Smithsonian roffing, the whole video of the scene changes. As they discuss Sealth's three Ps of sex-fun, fun, and fantasy—more and more people gather around. Hosts of other segments, the entire crew and the *Survivors* are enthralled. And when Johnson shows Sealth her signature "copulatory gasp," the room breaks into hysterics and you can hear the cooing on live TV.

When they exit, everyone applauds. First a whisper to the environment, you can tell she's in it. In fact, the women in the book Johnson says she's never seen it happen. On the way out, executive producer Victor Neufville, wearing sunglasses indoors, personally asks Johnson to visit regularly. She stops short of telling him she's part a college audience co-ordinator. But it's pretty obvious he's not the first TV guy she's charmed. And he certainly won't be the last. **R**

TOYLAND IN THE TORRID ZONE

ONE OF THE MOST diverse examples of life inventing sex and the city dates back to an early episode in which Charlotte, the "Toys Girl," became hooked on candy-colored vibrator collective Rabbit. The very next day, she shows across North America sold out of the model. To this day, in fact, the Rabbit family of products (yes, they're ventriloquist) remains among the best-sellers. Once the cliff of teeny-lad-like pin-point, new toys—vibrators, dildos and other adult-necessity products—have gone mainstream to the point where usage, buying a "personal massager" may be about as subtle as owning a camping tent.

On television, say, ventriloquist lines are enfolded into shows like *Ally McBeal* and *WMAZ*. In New York, a trendy company called Sella is offering "hip-bopsters" parties for women to become gardeners while vibrators, instead of plastic containers, are the centerpiece or effect. Even *Shogun* does a leading article review, is selling a vast selection of vibrators, dildos and bondage gear alongside its all-glass mid-century and pop-art pieces. "Sex toys are definitely coming out of the murky sexual closet and being seen as legitimate products in life," says Cary Silverberg, a toy and adult-toy co-owner of Come As You Are in Toronto, Canada's first co-questrative run sex shop.

In North America, sex toys are a \$100- to \$1,000-a-year industry, supported largely by mid-the-class heterosexual couples in their 30s and 40s. And it's growing that thanks to a new generation of savvy, confident consumers who unapologetically watch shows like *Sex Johnson's Fantasy Night Sex Show*. "Our sales are anywhere between \$10-million range," says Larry Gayle, a president of Lady Caster, a Toronto-based

sex toy manufacturer that sells its products on-line and distributes them to retail stores. "We'll just say that 30- to 25-per-cent sales increases per year are not uncommon."

To feed the growing demand among women in particular, marketers are creating packages and retail spaces that are fun, entertaining and more aesthetically appealing. "Gone are the days when every vibrator came in a box with a naked woman with legs spread in it," says Silverberg. Instead, the latest designs are subtle, playful and, in some cases, even stylish. "We have people who come in and buy sex toys to match the colors of their shirts," he says.

Perhaps most remarkable is the explosion of choices to have emerged in the past decade. In stores like Montreal's Boutique SexShop—in the Marie St. de Seignette—customers can choose from hundreds of shades, sizes and colors (dildos, pub and latex) being among the most popular. They sell vibrators that light up or have 10 speeds, are triple-pronged or hypoallergenic, and almost like everything from a rubber duck to a teddy bear. Some will do everything but light your post-coital cigarette.

For the would-be vibrator-got, there's the Gole Vibeur (GVR-01), equipped with a tiny camera that plugs into your TV for "intimate viewing action." For the top spender, there's the \$12,000 Real Doll—the most expensive, realistic "love doll" on the market—made with "Hollywood special effects technology" (you can customize everything from breast size to French manicure).

Sex toys may not be on department-store shelves yet, but the idea is certainly outlandish now that it's a decade ago. Get ready for a different kind of Toyland. **LIANNE GEORGE**



Chief Executive and Hubba Ducky are among the vast array of sex toys



BIRDS— AND BLIND IGNORANCE

While adults dither, kids sweat over date rape, oral sex and masturbation

"HOW YA FEEL about it? How ya do it?" Twenty Grade 8 students in Dawson's Fisher Park/Summit Alternative School library have just heard the facts about HIV and AIDS. Shuffling in their seats, one or two mumble, "All right, OK." These youngsters are the most known as the *Hot Nation* sensation. Taking in the room's languorous air, she suggests they might want to say another response: the real stop. A to the kids follow

her lead, silence gives way to the soft, groovy applause of snapping fingers. "Yeah, they're cool, and now, they're connected too. Cooling the group, Ota even smokes a pipe, saying A, B, C, D, HIV / it's made out of condoms please. By the time I come in to / one of us will have a friend. Then, she shifts to rap-style "bumping." At the dawn of / sexual reality / their sexuality / Canadian women represent 26 per cent of new infections / what a projection / instead of being the subject of nervous giggles / I would suffer mistakes / keeping your legs closed and your mind open / single date rape / the kids are really taken in now. And after collectively brainstorming, they write, and perform, their own poems about AIDS and HIV.



Don't become a sex educator after learning how much kids don't know

Sex education has never been as fun—or, possibly, as effective. At least that's the hope of Ota, a 31-year-old single mother of three, and her workshop partner, Richard Noster, who works with people who have HIV. Ota (whose name is a French-Jewish) approached Noster about taking her poem into schools after reading in the newspaper that sex education wasn't mandatory across Canada, and that the information wasn't always sinking in. The article was about a 2002 Council of Ministers of Education survey that concluded, among other things, that kids know less about HIV and AIDS in 1989, and also find more shame in the virus. Two thirds of Grade 7 and half of Grade 9 students think drugs can cure AIDS. And about half of 9th and 11th graders don't realize they can get herpes or other infections from unprotected oral sex. While fewer young people are having intercourse and most know how to use condoms, many still make a fifth of boys and a quarter of girls in Grade 9 didn't use a condom when they last "did it," though 39 per cent of boys and 28 per cent of girls had consumed alcohol or drugs. Meanwhile, rates of other sexually transmitted infections (STIs), chlamydia (in particular), are on an upswing.

It's all much to lay all the responsibility at the feet of the education system. Parents and doctors, too, regularly fail to play their part, while teenagers are hardly models of rationality, especially in the hormone-evoked best of the moment. Still, schools are there to educate. In my day, that meant diagrams of sex organs and textbookish lectures on how penis and one must their flies. The concept of unzipping a condom on a stiff penis was never broached. Sexually transmitted diseases? Never heard of them.

That pre-AIDS head-on-the sand approach is long gone. Today, Canadian kids are supposed to learn about safe sex, and in more progressive classes, they discuss things like emotion and sexual orientation. But for the vast majority, it's too little, too late. An average of three to eight hours of instruction a year, usually beginning in Grade 7—half of 12-year-old boys and more than a third of the girls say that by then they're already engaged in heavy kissing and preening. It's also, by the kids' own reckoning, still way too clinical. When asked, no they weren't in a Health Canada class, which subjects they'd like the classes to



RED AMERICA, BLUE AMERICA

Sure, it's Bush vs. Kerry. But the political punch-up is a clash not just of candidates but of cultures. BOB LEVIN reflects on a nation divided.

ONCE UPON A TIME I was a college student in the American Midwest, a Philadelphiaish blonded down in the storied heartland. I loved it, too: the vast flat fields of corn and soybeans, the huge sky over the grain elevators and truck-stop signs, the country and squares with their imposing courthouses and the tidy wood-frame houses flying their Stars and Stripes. I loved swimming in old quarries or farm ponds with rope swings, and catching the cornball parades that were so much sweeter here in the real America. Jimmy Stewart dwelled in towns like this, Red Seifling could appear on any corner I loved

everything except that this was the early '70s and I was a lonelier in Nixon country and his Great Silent Majority was not, in my experience, silent at all.

Worming-off-campus life like a foray into hostile territory. Reds stared, grown up glared, some shouted from passing Ford and Chevy with "America, Love It or Leave It" on their bumper. They had friends in Vietnam and didn't take kindly to protest. They supported their president who, as one woman told me, had "that Christian look in his eye." Groups were skipping into their schools and they held a public meeting where a psychologist, naming from New York City, recalled Margaret Mead saying we were a global village and these problems were worldwide. One lady begged to differ: "We don't have these problems and misunderstandings," she snapped. "I can recognize anyone who comes into this country." Much later she was still remembering about Margaret Mead and the end of the Communist party of the United States.

Talk about two Americas: who were those people?

I've been thinking about those days, watching the State of the Union. The ongoing political punch-up is a clash not just of candidates but of two Americas, happening not in a distant land but in Red America and Blue America, as the electoral vote tally shows. The Red states (let's call it Conservative, Lord knows) are Republican and Christian and deary god control, gay marriage and abortion, the Blacks are Democratic, less religious and take a liberal line on all of the above. These are gross generalizations, of course, but in a country that still evokes its founder as a winner take all electoral college,

generalissimo rule. So the campaigns will go through the metropolitan reliable Reds and Blues, while waging all-out war in the relatively few swing states like Ohio, Missouri and of course Florida.

And a fusion fight it will be: if the no-nonsense 2000 election proved anything else, it's that the two Americas are extraordinarily even in numbers (though the more rural Reds have a lot more land) and hold starkly opposing views of one George W. Bush. To the Blacks he is a staunch, God-fearing, freedom-loving leader who ended the nation's 9/11 to fight terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq, while cutting taxes and spending over a recovering economy at home. The Blues, while perhaps conceding the rally-jointed part, have no clue what the Blacks are

I ASKED whom they'd voted for, and why. They replied "Reagan" and "God"—God was why they voted for Reagan.

talking about. To their Blacks is a lying, anti-peace, dangerous ideologue who twisted intelligence (and almost killed) to send U.S. troops on a suicidal march to Baghdad—who ended terrorism, not terrorism it—and who has run up record deficits while subsidizing phony budgets that pretend Al-Qaeda and Iraq don't exist. I am, needless to say, firmly in the latter camp; but then I'm an ambidextrous, too, mostly a media guy but an urban, Eastern, die-hard Democrat now reading—surprisingly—in Canada of all places.

Why back when, though, when I was starting out in newspapers, I lived in a few Red states (they weren't called that then) and found it not only enjoyable but educational. In Oklahoma I covered rodeos, first and football, developed an enduring fondness for country music and met a lot of nice neighborly people who invited me to church. At Christmas, trying to head off further overtures, I wrote a column about how, even growing up non-Christmas, I'd always admired Mistle traditions. The former publisher of the paper pointed me the next day "but he's Jewish," she proclaimed, and proceeded to tell me that there'd once been another Jew in town, he'd left and made lots of money, they all make money and so will you. Did I take offense? No, because the didn't mean say, she was a charming lady, just clueless. I might as well have been Martin.

In Indiana I sat in a school gym listening to rural white folks, seated over a square of rubberies they blamed on blacks from elsewhere, grill a local prosecutor on why they couldn't sue about anyone who came on their property, a few had brought their rifles, just in case. This was the mid '70s, in the same area where I'd gone to college, and the Vietnam War was history and so was Nixon. But the disgraced president screamed a lightning rod. A touring journalist from New York, giving a speech in town, called him "evil." This disturbed the editor of the paper I was working on, who told me that, sure, Nixon made mistakes, but evil—well, never say that here, only out East. I said, well, guess I'm still an Easterner.

Those days over die. Here we are, decades later, and Bush and John Kerry are still snapping over who did what during Vietnam and the current Iraq mess has revived words like "Iraqgate." And Bush, who campaigned last time as a unifier, has proved a skilled divider, taking a page out of the Nixon playbook. Running a controversial war, he has soured himself in the flag and sent his attack dogs (speaking



of weapons of mass destruction) to smear critics and openly doubt their patriotism. He's waving cultural wedge issues—the gay marriage amendment is the most glaring—to draw blue-collar voters from the Democratic fold. And he'll say anything to get re-elected. John Dean, the former Nixon aide, has written a new book warning that this thick and obsessive secrecy of the Bush White House are, as the title hints, *Worse Than Watergate*. Expect an acid airing of that subject as the 36th anniversary of

Nixon's resignation approaches in August. And expect an eye-popping political brawl all the way to Election Day in November (Kerry's looked wobbly, but at least he's punching back). By then I will have cast my absentee ballot as usual in DeKalb County, Ga., my last official place of residence in the U.S. That is, unfortunately, Red America, meaning my Blue vote will be washed away on a Republican tide. You got used to it. Back in 1968, on the night Ronald Reagan was sweeping Democrats' Wilkes-Mondele,

I was working in the Athens bureau of an American newspaper, randomly calling Georgians to ask where they'd voted for and why. The answers, with remarkable consistency, were "Reagan" and "God"—God was why they voted for Reagan. Several asked whether I was a Christian, one tried to save me right over the phone. "What could I say?" I was beyond saving, obviously.

Bob Levin teaches history at Rutgers University.

STILL BLOWIN' IN THE WIND

The noted environmentalist on better light bulbs and the power of a stiff breeze

The environmentalist facing *But Lester Brown—founder of the Worldwatch Institute, the Earth Policy Institute, and holder of more than 20 honorary degrees—also meaningful change is within our grasp. Brown suggests we can cut climate-changing carbon dioxide emissions in half, and beyond, from 2001 levels. Plan B: Rescuing a Planet Under Stress and a Civilization in Trouble. P&A—Business as usual— isn't cutting it, argues Brown, winner of the 1987 United Nations Environment Prize. He spoke to Maclean's Senior Writer Danylo Hrachuk.*

In your book, you suggest we cut emissions in half by 2005. How do we do that?

There are a lot of things we can do. For example, if we agreed to phase out all the inefficient, incandescent light bulbs and replace them with the more compact fluorescent ones, we use less than a third as much electricity, we could close instantly hundreds of coal-fired power plants around the world.

Will consumers fork out the money?

If you're used to paying \$1.50 for a light bulb and find yourself paying \$15 for a fluorescent one, you're hesitant. But if you do the calculations and see how much your electricity bill goes down, then you begin to see it's a great investment. Another example: if in the U.S. we decided to make the fuel efficiency in cars to the level of the new Toyota Prius (a gasoline-electric hybrid), we could cut gasoline use in half.

On the supply side, my sense is that wind is probably going to emerge as the centerpiece to the new energy economy. It's abundant, cheap, renewable, widely distributed,

clean and climate benign. The Europeans are way ahead of the U.S. and Canadian in this area. At the end of December, there were 36 million Europeans who were getting all their residential electricity from wind farms. That's projected to reach 195 million by 2030.

It'll be some success stories.

Well, certainly. Once we get the electricity

How does that compare to electricity produced by coal-fired plants?

Coal is either competitive or almost competitive with wind. But there are enormous energy costs associated with coal. The World Bank published a map of Bangladesh with a one-meter rise in sea level, which is actually within range in this century. With a one-meter rise, Bangladesh loses half of its rice plains and 40 million people are displaced.

What's it going to take to win ourselves off climate-changing fossil fuels?

It could be a shift in the Gulf Stream. At the Arctic sea ice melts, it affects the circulation of currents in the North Atlantic. At the moment, the Gulf current goes up the eastern coast of the U.S. and Canada, and then turns eastward just south of Greenland, comes across and down the coast of Europe and Africa. That means western Europe has a climate that's milder or moderate compared with what the Canadian or Siberian equivalent. If the Gulf current were to turn east earlier and not make it as far north as Europe, then Europe would have a climate that would be much closer to that of Siberia.

What can individuals do?

People expect us to "recycle your newspapers and turn off the lights when you're not in a room, use your bicycle more and your car less"—that sort of thing. And these are important, but most important is to become politically active. A person here and a policy there won't do it. It's going to take systematic change to stabilize the relationship between us—now 6.5 billion in number—and the Earth's natural systems and resources.



Success politically active—a project here and a policy there won't do it

working on. When the modern wind industry began in California in the early '70s, wind-generated electricity cost 38 cents a kilowatt hour. It's now down to below four cents, and there have been several large-term supply contracts at three cents.

THIS IS ONE OF 30 MILLION MESSAGES ON OUR NETWORK RIGHT NOW.

WHEN CAN THE POWER OF A NETWORK CHANGE YOUR WORLD?

When a network is built on the world standard in wireless technology.

There's now a clear choice to communicate seamlessly around the globe—the GSM network. In fact, GSM has been so universally adopted that it is now considered the world standard. It's used by 70% of the wireless market and has changed the way we live, work and play. Rogers Wireless is a GSM-built on this network, offering Canadians access to the fastest, greatest, most widely used network in the world.



When it's the largest integrated wireless voice and data network in Canada.

Rogers Wireless has the largest GSM network in Canada. It means over 30 million messages a day. Canada's every day reaches more than 10% of the Canadian population and offers extensive coverage in both urban centers and rural areas. No matter you're working, in the city, driving, at the cottage or traveling on business, we'll be by your side.



When it gives you access to the latest devices and applications.

Along the most widely used mobile technology in the world has its advanced GSM. With GSM, you have the opportunity to get your hands on the latest devices like newer Class 1 phones and the revolutionary SIM card technology. We also give access to the latest applications in text and picture messages, games and more. The business, GSM, gets applications like email on the go, wireless banking and custom-made wireless business solutions right at your fingertips.



When it lets you travel easily around the globe with one wireless device.

Travel worldwide with only one device with one device in more than 215 countries. So whether you're stopping off in Paris for a quick meeting, or working your way to Rome, you can place calls or send and receive text messages seamlessly, all at your fingertips.

When you can do more things that matter to you.

Now, before you had two wireless networks at a single network, it's Rogers Wireless, we are deeply committed to bringing you innovative products, services and technology. And, our goal is simple. We want to ensure you're able to make the most of your wireless experience so that you can connect to the people and things that matter most to you, any time and any place.

THIS IS THE POWER OF THE NEW ROGERS WIRELESS NETWORK. THIS IS YOUR WORLD RIGHT NOW.



ROGERS WIRELESS
Your World Right Now

NEIGHBOURS IN ARMS

At Anzio, Canucks and Yanks—in the same uniform—paved the way to victory

AS THE WEST wages war on terror and endures attacks such as the March 11 Madrid bombings, it's hard to imagine a time when North America and Europe were more like neighbours than enemies. But Ottawa's Roland Porter, 85, does. Sixty years ago, Lance Cpl Porter was living his third month on the beachhead at Anzio, Italy, 50 km south of Rome, where an Allied invasion force had been bogged down since January 1944. "When we were to Anzio, the Allied forces were being pushed back into the sea," he recalls. "We were under honest fire in Italy."

Far from being a legacy of defeat, Anzio underscores how quickly the role of war can change, and how a few individuals can make a world of difference. On May 23, Canada and its former allies will celebrate a crucial moment of the Second World War with the 60th anniversary of the Anzio break-out and the liberation of Rome soon after—campaigns that helped win the war by drawing German defenders from France, and thus contributing to the success of the Normandy invasion, only days later, on June 6.

Porter was in the vanguard of the Anzio landings. He belonged to a little-known Canadian-U.S. elite commando unit, the First Special Service Force (FSSF), credited with playing a vital role in liberating Italy. After landing in the country in September 1943, Allied armies soon ground to a halt along the German Winter Line, the mountain south of Rome. A crucial position was the summit of Monte Mafese, where crack Nazi units had repelled waves after waves of Allied attacks. To break the impasse, the 2,000-strong FSSF was ordered to take Mafese, and add they had the power to influence the outcome of the war. "A general agreed to withdraw the attack," remembers FSSF veteran Thomas O'Brien, 90, of Toronto. "He said, 'If you'll be can take this mountain, we'll be in Rome in three weeks.'"

After missing two nights to scold the mountain and creep up behind German lines, FSSF commandos used flamethrowers to blow two-hour breaches on Dec. 3. While this vic-



Members of the First Special Service Force fire at retreating Germans at crumbled Anzio.

tory did not break the deadlock in Italy, it made the force an overnight legend. Its reputation only grew on the Anzio beachhead after the FSSF arrived there on Feb. 2, 1944. Chronically undermanned, the commandos defended one quarter of the Anzio line for 99 days and earned the fearful respect of the Germans—who dubbed them the "Black Devils"—by conducting audacious night raids against and behind enemy lines.

After the Anzio break-out, U.S. commander Mark Redfield, who now lives in Kelowna, B.C., led the first Allied patrol to enter Rome. The FSSF commandos went on to seize seven bridges over the Tiber, effec-

tively securing the city. Surviving Black Devils have sweet memories of their post-war life in Italy. "You should have seen the Italians giving us wine and flowers, and bug hugs and kisses from the girls," says Porter of June 4, 1944—Rome's liberation day.

Looking back on this time, when the U.S. and Canada fought side by side in common uniforms, other FSSF veterans remember the sense of camaraderie. "The camp was excellent," declares veteran Joe Glaze, 84, a Saratoga, Ore., retiree who also lives in Kelowna. "You never knew who was Canadian and who was American."

The anniversary provides veterans of the FSSF, which was a precursor to units such as the U.S. Green Berets and Canada's Joint Task Force Two, a chance to celebrate their unique force. "We were special soldiers," says Bill Story, 82, a native of Winnipeg who now lives in Victoria. Greg Hancock, 80, a grandson of a first veteran and a filmmaker who made *Daring to Die*, a documentary on the FSSF to be rebroadcast on June 16 on History Television, says it was "They were the pointy tip of the spear," he says, "and they regularly did the impossible."



Flames closed down 17th Avenue SW in a joyous celebration celebrating a Cup victory.

CANADA'S TEAM

Speed and hard work have fanned these Flames

AT MORNING RECESS, Jeremy Jones can be seen in his Calgary Flames jersey and goalie mask, hand-dribbling a huge Flames flag in his new lap around the playground at Steele Ranch T.J. elementary school. By the end of the break, the Grade 5 French immersion teacher has dozens of children trailing behind him as if he's some Peed Piper, pointing on Flames chants. Back in the classroom, Jones, 34, uses the month-dramatic run for the Stanley Cup as a teaching tool. Game stats become mathematical exercises. The location of opposing teams provides a geography lesson. And the morning news paper offers an example of how journalists employ metaphors, similes and creative expressions ("The Flames finally got the monkey off their back") to describe the previous night's action. "Since the playoffs began, it's all the kids talk about," says Jones, an avid Flames fan for more than 20 years. "I figure, why not take advantage?"

That's what Calgary is like these days. Flames boostlines up outside local watering holes hours before game time, hoping to get the best TV coverage prize. When the national anthem comes on, the parents stand up, beer in hand, and sing along with gusto. At home, some long-suffering hockey widows find themselves drawn in, letting the evening ritual go unrolled as they check out the latest news. Even the immigration-preoccupied. At least one major home security company is reporting that alarm calls decline markedly after the opening puck drops, only to return to normal levels about two hours after the game ends.

Last week, when the Flames defeated the heavily favoured Detroit Red Wings in six games to advance to the Western Conference final against San Jose, a casual observer might have thought Calgary had already snuggled up the Cup. Capa Bruin, 18, was

national anthem comes on, the parents stand up, beer in hand, and sing along with gusto. At home, some long-suffering hockey widows find themselves drawn in, letting the evening ritual go unrolled as they check out the latest news. Even the immigration-preoccupied. At least one major home security company is reporting that alarm calls decline markedly after the opening puck drops, only to return to normal levels about two hours after the game ends.

Last week, when the Flames defeated the heavily favoured Detroit Red Wings in six games to advance to the Western Conference final against San Jose, a casual observer might have thought Calgary had already snuggled up the Cup. Capa Bruin, 18, was

THE team's success is especially sweet, given the long drought. Calgary had missed the playoffs the past seven seasons.

in the nosebleed section of the Pengrowth Saddledome when Murray Gillen scored the season-winning goal with less than a minute left in the first overtime period. "Everyone was excited and hugging each other," says Bruin. He and his friends spilled out of the Saddledome and roared several blocks on 17th Avenue SW, where streets of trendy bars and clubs have become party central during the playoffs. For nearly four hours—until 3 a.m. on a Tuesday morning—more than 10,000 Flames fans spilled down the street. "My hand hurt from so much high-fiving," says Bruin. "It was amazing."

The team's success is especially sweet given the long drought that preceded it. The Flames missed the playoffs for the past seven seasons, the last time they advanced beyond the first round was 1989, when they won the Cup. With Marcel Dionie and then Roberto Luongo in net, the Flames are the only Canadian team still skating. "The whole country has to get behind them now," says Calgary Mayor Dave Bronkhorst, who tasted the victory over Detroit in a Houston bar while on a business trip. "This is a team with great spirit and heart which is really put this city on the map."

The Flames are, in fact, the perfect Cinderella squad. A relatively low-paid, small-market franchise, the team boasts only one bona fide superstar, captain Jarome Iginla. But Iginla's teammates are young, fast, hard-working and capably coached, and fans have a tough time choosing their hero of the moment. As Iginla, the playoff's leading scorer with the killer wrist shot? Or Mikko Rymkus, the cool Finnish goal tender? Then there's Gellinas, 33, a career veteran whose overtime goals at Detroit and, before that, the Vancouver Canucks into playoff oblivion. For his efforts, Gellinas was invited to lunch in Calgary with fellow skating-mom Jenn Christensen, one of many intense converts to the Flames' cause.

All this, of course, could still come unchanged against the favored Sharks. But even on the grip of Capa Bruin, that's something many Flames fans were pretty sure about. "If they don't get past the next round, I think everyone in Calgary will be proud of them," says Bruin. "That's why we want to celebrate every win, because you never know when it all will end."

FEISTY IN FRANCE

IF YOU FIND YOURSELF at Parsons day and haven't a clue whether the Maroon 5 song is a duet or a gauche, Jack just might deliver you into the hands of the musician known as Feist. The ultra-high vocal powerhouse moved to the City of Lights a month ago, and she's been randomly offering directions to Canadian travelers. These acts of kindness aren't entirely selfless: The 28-year-old Calgary native—whose new CD, *Let It Die*, has made a splash with critics and on the charts in France—hasn't yet mastered French and wishes on the ground for some effortless conversation, complete with common reference points. “It’s hard to be a recognizable accent,” she says. “I’m immediately torn to them and say, ‘Do you know who Shaggy Rogers is?’ And if they do, then we high-five each other and go have a beer.”

On May 18, Canada gets its introduction to the latest incarnation of Feist (her given name is Lenka, but she goes by her surname) with the release here of *Let It Die* (A&M/Columbia), a collection of soul, pop, jazz and even disco tunes that’s bound to show up on your end. Top 10 list. For anyone already familiar with the earlier work of this potent, striking beauty, the brilliant collection of *Let It Die* is no surprise. At 18, she was the lead singer of the aggressive Calgary indie rock band Placbo, and after a move to Toronto in the mid-’90s, she played guitar with By Divine Right, a quieter group of rockers, and put out her first solo CD, *Murder*, in 1999. For the past couple of years, Feist has been one of the rising singers with Toronto supergroup Broken Social Scene when he’s not touring the world with Chilly Gonzales—a Canadian hard-core rapper/baladist/versatile piano player who moved to Berlin six years ago and found a huge audience. “We were matching outfits, did marching-dancer moves,” says Feist. “No more show-guitar rock. It was time to entertain, go back to vaudeville. We went from Russia to Australia to Scotland—you name it. It was a crazy couple years.”

Next month, Feist will tour Canada to promote *Let It Die*, but she plans on continuing her Parisian sojourn. Living in a fifth-floor apartment that she used to be a waitress’ quarters, she’s been making friends with subway musicians and getting extra lay-out for visiting Canadian visitors. Pretty romantic stuff, even before you throw in the fact that her album has been released on a major label and includes a popular single, *Mushaboom*. It’s a happy, major-keyed yet wistful, dreamy lyrics about quitting the only fair life in the country: *Helping the hell out of these coats / but wait the ladies haven’t been home*

Currently the cat’s miaow in Paris, Canada’s Feist is ready to break out at home



The Calgary native's songs are changed with a secret energy and a youthful outlook

/ unspicing the bugs and setting up / plant-ing blues and hater-sung / lost in the mess time we get a hard second floor living with out a pearl / I’ve found the one place on earth where this song could be a single, says Feist. “It’s like a little people folk song, but over here it’s on the radio. There’s such a range on the radio, they don’t categorize stuff quite so rigidly. There’s not one station for adult contemporary and a whole different one for rock. The biggest stations are

the equivalent of college radio at home—they play everything.”

But why wouldn’t Canada embrace the quirkier music in Manhattan, a song about moving to the East Coast that she wrote while living in Toronto? “I didn’t know about the other stations, but I’m banking on the CBC,” says Feist. “I love my CBC, per, E! Extra, I’m a stupid CBC fan. As soon as I get high speed Internet I’ll be listening again.” Besides getting connected to the World

“If I hear a recognizable accent, I say, ‘Do you know who Shaggy Rogers is?’ If so, we high-five and go have a beer.”

Wide Web, Feist admits she really must learn French, so she’s getting very fond of conducting interviews in an easily understood version of her native tongue. “It’s a dumbed-down English, where all the subtleties get lost. I just love to speak like a 12-year-old.” But she acknowledges that it’s nice not to be able to read her reviews, so she gets “full-bogged down by the convoluted self-reflexive stuff.” And she continues to be enamored of the city that she’s seeing through a filter of misinterpretation. “There’s no details to anybody, so you can print your own. An old lady wandering up my street passes a fish market, grabs a fish and is shaking it at the guy and yelling at him. Probably she’s saying something really nice but I can’t imagine that she’s saying, ‘Fifty years ago, this is the fish that swallowed my wedding ring!’”

While Paris may be looking the singer’s world, it didn’t have much influence on the album, which was recorded there over a year ago. “I was listening to the Placbos, Chilly Gonzales and Fleetwood Mac, and Gonzales [who co-produced with Ronan Leving] was listening to hard-core rap and Run-DMC,” says Feist. “Let It Die does, though, have a somewhat smoky French café feel and definitely harkens back to albums of decades past, thanks in part to a cover of the ‘50s jazz number, ‘Now at Last,’ popularized by Blossom Dearie. Feist also ridded the Ronan Scott song ‘Secret Heart’ and the Bee Gees’ ‘Love You Inside Out’ (the abbreviation of the title to *Inside and Out*). After beginning the studio with covers, Feist eventually felt comfortable enough to hand over to her producers some original material that she’d been carrying around for years—songs she’d kept tucked in her Toronto basement, with the hairs of stress in the background. Gonzales and Leving gave the whole collection again, elegant, simple arrangements full of brass, percussion and keyboard in-

struments that, as Feist says, “don’t get in each other’s way.” There’s a hint of Danny Springfield and Rickie Lee Jones in Feist’s voice, and she’ll likely woo folk-lovers of Sami Harnett and Josselyn Mitchell. Bottom line, she’s very much something other than North Jones. And Feist is in no danger of losing the indie rock and the accumulated. She may have gone acoustic, but her songs are charged with sexual energy and a youthful outlook. Feist really has something to say about what will appear the fact that the album is both a sound track for falling in love as well as a breakup disc.

So which of the two is the champagne currently in need of? How do you say in French—it’s none of your business. ■



ECLECTIC LADYLAND

Three Can-rock divas riff on personas old and new

HERE'S A TEST: match these Canadian rockers—Avril Lavigne, Alanis Morissette and Melissa Auf der Maur—with the opening lyrics from their latest albums.

1. *How heavy your foot on my feet of oblivion/ I have to defer to men in suitable positions*
2. *I can't find a way to describe it / it's there inside, all I do is hide*
3. *Lying in my girl / gonna let the lightning rock me into my bed / gonna let their love, let her into my bed*

It's actually quite easy. The first is obviously Morissette, once again forcing us to sit in on her talk therapy. The second can only come from Lavigne, the teenage of the group—striving to be deep, but really saying nothing. And by process of elimination, Auf der Maur is the author of the bewitching art-rock ruminations. Sure, all three ladies know their way around a hook, a power chord, a driving backbeat and a headbush, but getting down lyrics isn't their strong suit. With Auf der Maur's self-titled debut (May 18), Lavigne's sophomore effort, *Under My Skin* (May 25), and Morissette's latest, *So-Called Chaos* (May 18), these usually appealing artists show the most uninteresting sides of themselves.

As a music or songwriting rockster, the red-headed Auf der Maur is increasingly available. And for the one-time bassist for both Hole and Smashing Pumpkins, also daughter of late Montreal-born *Vibe* journalist Nick Auf der Maur and musician/critic DJ Linda Gotheimer, has music we all want to hear. But what she offers on Auf der Maur is an oddity: a variety of personas, talk singing, put-on voices and tongue-tied posturing, promising to "tease you, I've got a big mouth" and "shuffle his dick, close." Yes, a couple tracks (*Just a Lie* and *Would I Could*) are worth a listen, and it's incredibly cool that a female can infiltrate the hard-rock boys' club so authentically (she's well-versed in Black Sabbath and goddess help from members of the genre's reigning heavyweights, including Queens of the Stone Age). But didn't Auf der Maur pick up anything in her days with Billy Corgan and Courtney Love? As dysfunctional as they were, at least they knew how to try themselves out.

Lavigne needs to hold on to her previous persona. She was a



Lavigne, Auf der Maur and Morissette may all be adept at hooks and power chords, but none is a gifted lyricist

short-board-testing, punk-rock-loving bad lion, and the music worked. But what self-respecting slacker would turn to schlocky Chantal Kreviazuk as a songwriting partner? Further proving Lavigne doesn't have the headcase instincts she's chosen guitarist Evan Dando for in her other main collaborator. He's the least punk-rock member of her band. Not surprisingly, the music suffers. The Napans, Ont.-born megastar says this album is more honest and sincere than her last, but she has maintained that not-to-be aggressive stance. In her pre-adolescence single, *Don't Tell Me*, she threatens to kick a guy's "ass" for thinking she's the kind of girl who'd have sex with him. The more mature Lavigne is still more fighter than loser. The music remains catchy, but the meanings of this 19-going-on-13-year-old should have been relegated to her Web journal.

The days of boy-bashing and band-kicking aren't behind Morissette. Spiritually sound, in love and easily storm, the warrior of the three is a sharer, and is comfortable with herself. Too comfortable, actually. The consuming obsession with individual and self-analysis is missing. Morissette makes everything about Morissette. Even a love song focuses on what her boyfriend thinks of her: *How see everything, you are every part / you set me my light, and you live my dark*. And yet, more endearing again her music is frustratingly accessible. We still believe the Onans survive for not knowing the definition of irony, but who actually turns the dial when Iron comes on? And even with all the sharing and clear-dabbling—thank you, ladies—the consistency delivers legitimizing melodies and simply so-memorable, discernable songs.

Auf der Maur's still the one you'd want to make out or hang out with. But Morissette has put out the best album. As for Lavigne, this one's second you say you're to submit. **B**

"A true hot-red sedan."

Car and Driver, 07/03.

"Muscular power and precise handling."

Alan E. McNamara, *Car and Driver*.

"If power corrupts, prepare to be seduced."

Michael Dutton, *Car and Driver*.

Like they say, before you buy, get three quotes.



With ferocious performance and means-than-ever road handling, there's a lot to love about this all-new Grand Prix. And you can quote us on that. Visit us at gmcanada.com or 1-800-CANDRIVE.

PONTIAC GRAND PRIX BUILT FOR DRIVERS



AND IN 2014 I THINK I WILL...

I've learned, in fact, that sometimes the best plan is to ignore plans

MOST DAYS, I don't think about time. I've developed an ability to let the minutes, hours and days roll by without giving them much thought. But every now and then, something happens to stop me short and make me think about time—particularly about how it passes without notice. Sometimes, it's realizing that Rob Lowe, whose portrait I had on my bedroom wall when I was a teenager, recently turned 40. Other times, it's noticing that the phrase “10 or 15 years ago...” appears in my speech more often. And then there are occasions that can bring any parent face to face with how quickly time passes—when you sit

down to help your first child fill out her first option sheet for her first year of high school.

How can I help my daughter with her “plan” when I haven't even finished developing my own? While her choices for Grade 9 are limited—the main decision is whether to take stand alone or music—she still has to look at the big picture: does she put a checkmark in any of the boxes. Which route will leave her with the most options down the line? If she wants to take media studies in Grade 11, is she going to need an Arts (3) year?

Old who isn't sure whether she wants to be a journalist or a short-raced worker, this is heavy stuff.

It's heavy stuff for her mom and dad, too. Knowing that neither of us really knows what we were destined to do until well into our 20s, the only advice we feel equipped to give is “keep your options open.” The school offers a menu well stocked with choices, but as she reads the course descriptions, and marks the forms, we realize she'll have to spend six years in high school to make everything she wants.

Why, I wonder, is it so important for a teenager to have a plan? Has this become the new norm because our misadventures of education are stifled by boomers and Gen Xers who view the five-year plan as a road to success? Certainly, a plan can be a good thing; it helps to know where you want to go, and to have some idea of how you're going to get there. (And clearly, a lot of people want help in deciding which direction to take.) Stephen Covey, Anthony Robbins and other such motivational gurus have turned self-help

seminars into a \$6 billion-a-year industry.

But too often, plans—and our current high school system is a good example—leave you with too little room for change, too little opportunity to seize the day.

Like my daughter, I had a plan in Grade 9. A friend and I, as certain of the path we would take, even sat down and contextualized our plans to paper. The year was 1985 and, with the obvious conviction that only youth and perseverance can conquer, we carefully outlined where we'd like, what we'd be doing

by unexpected illness. We never thought we would spend the first years of our 20s learning to navigate the health care system, disability pensions and Workers Compensation. Nor did we expect that, in the long run, we'd both be perfectly content to settle in the same city we grew up in, putting down roots not far from where we started.

Chronic illness, unexpected loss, war, a changing economy—few of us include those things in our plan. Or, if we somehow fail to follow our plan, we chalk it up as exactly that—a failure. But I've learned that opportunities are just as likely to grow out of obstacles as they are out of options.

A few years ago my husband and I took the children to Florida. Every step of our trip had been carefully worked out, from our daily agenda to the route we'd drive there and back. Leaving Orlando, we happened on the turnpike and headed for home. It wasn't until a few hours later, as we saw the signs announcing our approach into Daytona, that we realized our plan had gone wrong. Tired after our eight-day vacation, we'd forgotten to turn north some 60 km back.

We were an hour out of our way, at least, and we had to decide: were we going to turn around, or find another route? It's the type of thing that could easily have caused a lot of stress.

But we opted to go with the flow. As a result, the kids got to see the Atlantic Ocean, which we'd assumed there wasn't going to happen this trip. Our new route home also took us to historic Savannah, Ga., which included a visit to the house of Civil Scout founder Juliet Lowe. The kids still talk about our unexpected detour seven years later.

Some of life's best surprises can arise from options you never even knew you had. Having a map is a good idea—but leave yourself open to alternatives.

Shelley Dwich Hagbert is a freelance writer in Windsor, Ont. To comment: overtoyou@macleans.ca

Health & Life Sciences | University Rankings | Literacy & Technology | Campus Confidential | The Academic Report | Campus & International | Financial Planning

MACLEAN'S | Guide to Canadian Universities 2004

Edited by Ann Gewirtz Johnston



ON SALE NOW

Look for displays at Chapters, Coles, Indigo, Great Canadian News, Relay Airport stores and other fine newsstands.

Call 1-866-301-4434 or in Toronto 416-596-3492 (quote Reservation Code M4PA00W00)

Order on-line: www.macleans.ca/2004guide



MACLEAN'S

www.macleans.ca

ROGERS
Your World. Right Now.

MAY 1995 / JUNE 1995 31

INTERNET GUIDE

Mastermindtoys.com
Shops in Canada and the U.S.
FREE gift-wrapping and gift tags

The world's Canadian online toy store with Lego, Thomas and his wooden trains, Barbie dolls, K'NEX, science kits, a literature built book selection, puppets, arts & crafts, board games, jigsaw puzzles, board games, music, software and more.



Quality of Course Inc.
www.qualityofcourse.com
1-800-267-1878

Want to write? Our unique home study course shows you how to write well and how to get your work published. You succeed or your fees are refunded. Ask for the FREE book that explains it all.

Solaro Systems Inc.
Show us your Photography Equipment
www.SolaroSystems.com
Toll free: 1-800-633-3257

PROSIS-ECZEMA-VITILIGO
Ultraviolet light is an approved treatment. Home units are available. Made in Canada since 1991. Physician's prescription required.

Mofietta Writer Inc.
www.mofiettwriter.com
780-345-2533



If you've ever thought about opening a bottled water store, we are your guys! We build more water stores than any one else in Canada. We are 100% Canadian owned, install systems all over North America and best of all we don't charge franchise fees.

Performance Challenges
www.performancechallenges.com
usabilityperformancechallenges.com
416-564-5880



Need to know the impact of training, policies, programs or services? We get answers for you quickly, efficiently, expertly, and we do it locally, nationally or globally. We put the value in evaluation.

Paul DiGuardi, Queen's Counsel
Tax Lawyer (30 Years Experience)
416-627-4468 or 1-800-758-3838 (toll free)
www.effectivebusiness.com



Undeclared income?
(Canada & Offshore) Asset
Protection & Debt Protection

Before you are caught we can negotiate a no name bankruptcy settlement. Lawyer-client confidentiality assured. Unlike us, your accountant can not offer this legal protection. A substantially discounted fee settlement is possible.

Your Accountant - Revenue
Canada's Best Witness Against You

A large tax audit or other type of civil assessment can, without warning, become a criminal tax evasion prosecution. Plan your own protection involve us immediately. Lawyer-client confidentiality assured. Unlike us your accountant can not offer this legal protection and can be forced by Revenue Canada to testify against you.

Bring Your Money Home
Offshore security is real.

The names of past beneficiaries, debt, credit card, IDC owners and stock traders are being given to the tax police. Before you are convicted we can negotiate a confidential tax settlement for you. Don't leave the problem to your family if sickness or death intervenes. **Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, Calgary, Vancouver and Offshore.**

Canrich Corporation
www.canrichcorp.com

CARRICH CORPORATION, one of Canada's leading providers of private wealth building software is seeking individuals to be professionally trained to become successful in the sale of its product. After our exclusive training program, many of our sales associates earn as much as \$5,000 per month working just a few hours per day. Please forward your resume in confidence to admin@canrichcorp.com

Global Online Systems
www.worldwide.net
1-800-588-5578



Are you ready for a change?
Do you need more income?
WORK AT HOME online with
this proven Internet system
based on Federal Government regulations and better business practices. Earn \$500 to \$5,000 per month, part to full time. One-to-one training and support.

Ellet Lake Retirement Living
Canada's most affordable retirement community
www.retirelaketake.com
1-800-465-4663



Apartments from \$564/month
Townhouses from \$492/month
Resales from \$492/month
For more information or to
book your free Discovery Tour call
1-800-465-4663. To learn more,
visit www.retirelaketake.com.

Travel Canada
www.travelcanada.ca/peace



There are a myriad of experiences waiting for you to explore in Canada. From our majestic mountains, to the energy of our urban centres, it's all right here in your own backyard. Visit www.travelcanada.ca/peace for inspiring vacation ideas.

CLOSING NOTES



Music | A trio of unicorns with no fixed address

The Unicorns have taken off like a three-headed phoenix from the ashes of Montreal's dusty open mike scene across The band—consisting of Alden Glazier, 21, Nicholas (Nell) Diamonds, 22, and Tobias Tambour, 21—released *White Stripes and Basement Jaxx* last November, blending shorn-out pop with African high life, to dazzling effect. Their cabaret-style performances have seduced crowds across the U.S. and Canada, and a European deal with XL Recordings (*White Stripes and Basement Jaxx*) is in the works. Sofia Coppola's production company has asked to direct the band's next video.

The trio's songs have only added to their growing legend. They hired homeless people

Ginger Derts, Tambour and Diamonds blend pop and African high life



to fill in for a couple of slaves and claims to have stolen many neighborhoods in preparation for an interview with the *New York Times*. "Dropping things off, the bandmates gave away all their possessions last August and moved into an RV (which has since died) to live a transient beatnik-style existence. They still don't have a fixed address. "The nights are cold," says Diamonds, during a recent 2 a.m. interview in the parking lot of a 7-Eleven in Toronto, "but you get to walk around a lot." Despite inhabiting a melted fantasy world, the Unicorns have a pretty good idea why things are going so well. "Gotta start with horses, then get into unicorns, and then nice boys," says Tambour. "We like to think of ourselves as halfway between horses and nice boys." **ADAM LUTHE-SOLVIER**

LISTINGS

Victoria Literary Arts Festival
May 20-31
The 11th annual celebration of our community's rich literary tradition includes readings and Q&A sessions with British Columbia's best writers. **Visual Artists' (U.S. & Canada) Festival**
May 20-31
Victoria's best artists will be showcasing their work at the festival.

Concert, Band and Symphony Orchestra Festival
May 20-31
Thousands of young Canadians are taking up and ready to compete, as well as enjoying, in the 10th annual festival. **Shakespeare Day**
May 20-31
Celebrate the day of the Bard.

MTA International Children's Festival of the Arts
May 20-31
The week of Canada's best artists and musicians has become one of North America's largest festivals for young people.

Toronto
Toronto's best artists and musicians have become one of North America's largest festivals for young people.

Montreal 2004
May 20-31
The Montreal 2004 festival features a collection of works created by Canadian artists affected by mental illness.



FAKE TALK ON HEALTH CARE

Calm discussion is banned until Canadians elect their next government

SHAME ON ME. I was going to be mean to Jeremy the B.

Jeremy the B is what everyone in Ottawa calls Jim Ranganathan, Liberal MP for Scarborough Agincourt, Ont., organizer and fiercer opponent for the 1990 leadership campaign of Jean Chrétien and for Paul Martin's 2003 cakewalk.

Not a man given to civility, our Jim. It is hard to imagine him finding comfortable in a policy debate without pique. After last Wednesday's Liberal caucus meeting, he was

wearing around an Ontario health card and a credit card.

"Do you want a credit card or a health card when you visit your doctor?" he asked reporters. "The Conservative party certainly wants the credit card."

Got it? Voice the wrong way and you'll pay. Literally.

I will sit in to accuse Jeremy the B of dragging the debate over health down to his level. But the more I learn, the more I see don't unfair: the Liberals are all dragging together.

Pierre Pettigrew of the Liberals' Income Information, a published author with a flat in Paris. And

here's what Canada's health minister had to say in Montreal recently: "Public delivery provides Canadians with the best system possible. We want to ensure Canadians will use their health cards, not their credit cards."

So the Liberals oppose private for-profit delivery? What about the Montreal hospital that runs out on PET scanner to private clinics so patients can see their... well, their credit cards can get served more quickly? Pettigrew goes and ignores: "I'll look at the file when it's handed to me." Umm. When will he be handed the file? After the election, methinks.

Calm discussion about health care is barely tolerated until after Canadians elect their next government. There are too many people, beginning with the Prime Minister, who would rather have a fake conversation about what's not happening than a complex conversation about what is.

Pettigrew got that message when the PM once a stop off him as the April 28 Liberal



caucus meeting. Pettigrew's crime? A day earlier, he had said something that's not only true, it's obvious: "The Canada Health Act does not preclude delivery of services by private elements as long as there is a single public payer." In other words, a private company can care for patients as long as the company bills a government medical plan, not the patient. That's what Alberta's Bill 11 permits, and Martin never hid a finger against it while he was finance minister. Because he couldn't. No federal government can. We could have an anonymous conversation about whether any government should want to.

But Martin is fresh out of ideas, so he doesn't have the luxury of interesting conversation. He is going to run a campaign on slogans and insults. So he has created a policy when his own beliefs get all complex on him. Pettigrew was sent out to deliver a "clarification" that clarified nothing and in no way contradicted its earlier contentment. "The ambition of the federal government

is not to encourage private delivery, even within the terms of the Canada Health Act. Quite the contrary, our ambition is to expand public delivery."

That's sweet. But since the Canada Health Act doesn't preclude private delivery, Pettigrew's "ambition" for public delivery means as much as his "ambition" to enjoy a sunny day tomorrow.

The Liberals' stated ambition for health care, taken all in all, are... ambitious: pay for a larger share of all health care delivered by governments at every level in Canada, increase the amount of health care delivered by governments, and make this summer's federal provincial health-care summit the last one for a generation, which would be a shock of a trick, since it will be the third in four years.

It's depressing to contemplate asking how it's depressing because you know they'll tell you a credit card and a health card and start telling ghost stories about Stephen Harper.

There's something more dangerous going on here than the debasement of a debate. Martin really does plan to have a health-care summit. He really does want to "fix" health care for a generation. By stating that goal, he's ranching up the stakes and the tension before the meeting even starts. By shooting down his opponents and his own cabinet ministers, he's narrowing his own options.

High stakes, Martinian meetings. Rogers instead of thought. We've seen this before during the death throes of the Meech Lake constitutional deal (look, ask your parents) in 1990. Never mind the merit of Meech (which I supported as a child, the winner of it was appalling, and a constitutional amendment, as some of us were surprised to discover later, turned out to be optional). A health care system isn't. Martin wants to win this election on the worst way. He's made a good start of it.

To comment: backpage@macna.ca or send Paul Wells a message, "Backpage Wells," at www.backpage.ca/paulwells

HE'S OUR ONLY CHANCE



SHE'S HIS ONLY ALLY

AN ACTION-PACKED FILM BY JOHN WOO
STARRING BEN AFFLECK, KAREEN ECKHART & UMA THURMAN
SCREENPLAY WRITTEN BY DEAN GEORGIAS

SPECIAL COLLECTOR'S EDITION DVD INCLUDES:
• COMMENTARY BY DIRECTOR JOHN WOO
• COMMENTARY BY SCREENWRITER DEAN GEORGIAS
• 3 FEATURES: PAYCHECK DISCOVERS THE FUTURE
TEMPTING FATE: THE STUNTS OF PAYCHECK
• 7 EXTENDED/DELETED SCENES

AVAILABLE ON DVD ON MAY 10th

THIS DVD IS THE ONLY CHOICE



2004 BEST LUXURY SUV

CAR AND DRIVER



In a head-to-head comparison of the world's finest luxury sport utility vehicles, *Car and Driver* magazine recently ranked the 2004 Cadillac SRX to be the best, saying "its fresh-from-the-cleaners creases, distinctive interior styling, and excellent road manners make it hard to resist." Read the whole review in the March 2004 *Car and Driver*, or at caranddriver.com. Or you can reach your own conclusions by arranging a test drive at 1-888-446-2000.



CADILLAC SRX
SEEK THROUGH